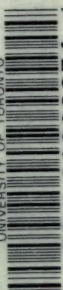


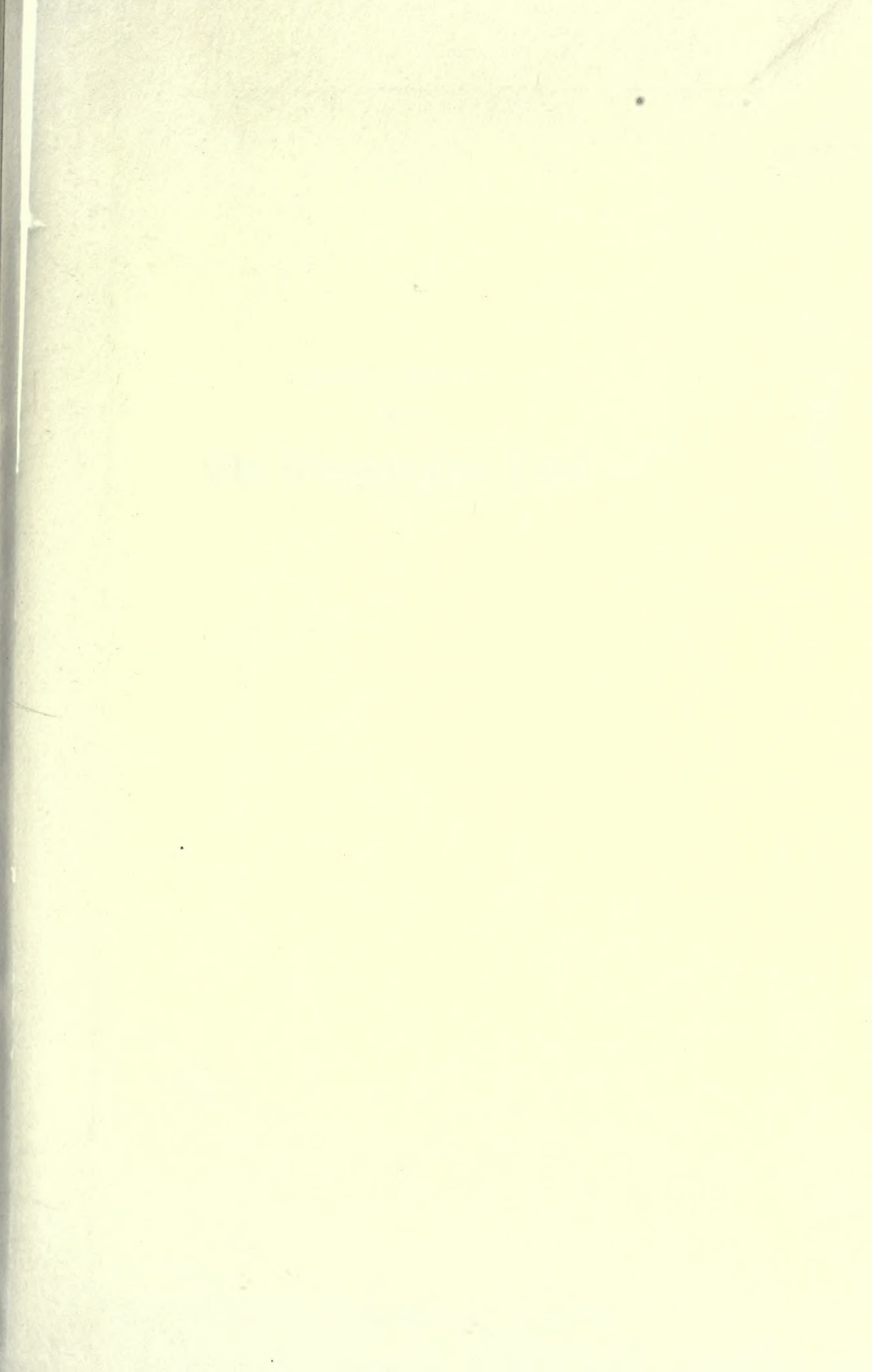
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BY

IRA E. BENNETT



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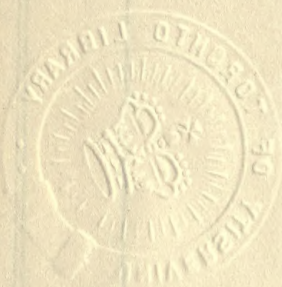
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1921



## PREFACE

**I**N response to the request of many friends, The Washington Post takes pleasure in reproducing herein a number of leading editorials written by Mr. Ira E. Bennett and appearing in The Post between January 1, 1917, and the Presidential election of 1920.

Mr. Bennett has been in charge of the editorial page of The Post since 1908. The selections in this volume have been made by him.

EDWARD B. McLEAN,  
*Editor-President*

Washington,  
February, 1921





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*Monday, January 1, 1917*

1917

THE astonished earth swings today into another cycle of the mysterious journey that began no man knows when and will end no man knows where. The moment of its existence known as 1916 was full of blood and tears. It saw fourteen nations grappling, some of them dying, others receiving their death blow, and still others drawing near the fatal embrace of war. On the last day it heard ten of these nations proclaiming their purpose to bring the other four to their knees at any cost, and it saw the lighting of new fires which will throw their lurid light across 1917 and perhaps completely around the earth.

The dawn of 1917 comes up blood red, with storm clouds flying low over the hemispheres. It is the beginning of a stupendous year for men and nations. The groan of death mingles with the laughter of those who clink unmeasured gold. Famine is stealing upon some nations, while others grow fat upon destruction. The books of the law are in flames or are dropped into the sea. Organized murder is the only aim, and brute force is the only law. Hell laughs at its mastery of the earth.

In the West is a mighty nation free from war, bursting with wealth, young, eager, with the strength of the eagle in its wings. What of the United States? What part is it to play in the bloody drama of humanity in 1917?

Its President is transmitting to the central powers the message that proclaims continued war. He has asked the belligerents to take soundings and tell the world why they are fighting. They refuse to do even this much. He has asked the neutrals to join him in efforts to bring about peace, and they refuse.

The power that can make peace by surrendering has no thought of surrender. It is preparing to deal heavier blows by land and sea. Its unequalled organization, inspired by dauntless courage and public unity, is capable of exertions which, with those of its allies, may spread war throughout the world. Rather than surrender, this power will fight with utter disregard of laws that have heretofore restrained nations at war. Therefore the United States, instead of bringing the nations into peace, is more than likely to be itself drawn into war in defense of its outraged rights.

The President and Congress are shaping their plans with a view to meeting this dreadful event. More has been done than has been made public, but much remains to be done. There is confusion of counsel, largely because the people are unaware of the danger. There is no lack of patriotism, but there is a lack of manifestation of it. When the hour strikes the people will stand unitedly behind their government. But it would be better if they stood unitedly now and perceived the wisdom of preparing for what may come. The petty questions that seem to engross public attention may be swept aside like chaff within a few weeks when the President lays bare the crisis that confronts the country.

Congress is in session and its leaders know what to do. The defenses of the country are dependent upon Congress. There is no lack of wealth. The public credit is an inexhaustible fountain of wealth. The nation owes less than \$1,000,000,000, and its domestic business during 1916 was 45 times that figure, while its foreign business reached \$8,000,000,000, the greatest in the history of any nation at any time. This wealth must be used for defense of the independence and rights of the nation, if these should be assailed. The army is insignificant, and even in its littleness is unprepared. The aëroplane service is nonexistent. The country has no submarines worthy of the name. It has no battle cruisers, and its fastest ships are slower than the *Bleucher*, which went down because it was overhauled by the enemy. The duty of Congress now is the same as its duty last year—to prepare the nation against war. The measures now under consideration should be amplified to meet the scope of the emergency that may confront the United States. More men, more sailors, more ships, more forts should be provided forthwith.

In the meantime, it behooves the employers and workers to get together. This is not the time for strikes and demoralization of the nation's railroads and industries. The President is doing his best to prevent domestic troubles which may cripple the nation in a vastly more important field. Every employer and every workingman should stand by the President and Congress. The portents at the beginning of the year 1917 are too big to be overlooked. The United States is under notice to prepare itself for war.



*Friday, February 2, 1917*

## The Impending Break

THE more the present situation is studied, the more apparent it becomes that a clash between the United States and Germany is now almost unavoidable. It can be prevented only by the backdown of Germany. If the submarine campaign on the new lines is persisted in, American life will be taken and American ships will be sunk, and there will be war.

The proposition is that the United States should acquiesce in the creation of a death zone on the high seas, in which every vessel entering shall perish, and that this country should humbly accept a concession from Germany for the running of a single passenger steamer on condition that Germany shall specify the nature of the flag to be flown, the itinerary and route and the port of call. This proposal is an affront to the sovereignty of the United States.

Probably the severance of diplomatic relations will be the prelude to more important developments. The President has his own reasons for acting without undue haste. It is quite possible that navy dispositions should be made, shipping instructions issued through the Treasury and measures taken by the Department of Justice toward suspects and conspirators before the government will take more decisive steps. Once relations with Germany are broken, the interval before actual war may be brief, indeed. It must be remembered that President Wilson has in his possession much information that is not accessible to the public. He is acting in the light of this information and not on the mere impulse of indignant repudiation of Germany's aggressive note. Therefore before he recalls Ambassador Gerard and dismisses Ambassador von Bernstorff he will have disposed of other matters which require action.

It is conjectured that the President has sent notice to Germany that if it acts in pursuance of the threat conveyed in the note of January 31 he will sever relations with that government. If such a notice has been sent, it is evidently for the sake of making the record clear in history that the United States left no stone unturned in its effort to maintain its right without resorting to war. That the notice will have the slightest deterrent effect upon Germany cannot be expected. The new rule of submarine warfare is already in effect, and it is only by happy chance that an American ship was not tor-

#### THE IMPENDING BREAK

pedoed on the first day. So far as avoidance of a break is concerned, nothing is to be gained by waiting for an overt act. The official notice from the German government is in itself a cause of rupture, for it repudiates all the pledges heretofore given, upon which diplomatic relations depended. The fact that the President has not immediately taken Germany at its word is evidence that he is disposing of other important matters preliminary to that fateful step.

*Sunday, February 4, 1917*

## The Break With Germany

PRESIDENT WILSON met the expectation and desire of the people of the United States when he recalled Ambassador Gerard, dismissed the German Ambassador, and notified Congress that he had severed relations with the German government.

He also voiced the universal sentiment of America, when he served notice that if American ships and lives are sacrificed by German submarine commanders in violation of law and the dictates of humanity he would ask Congress to give him authority to use any means necessary to protect American citizens. "I can do nothing less," said the President, adding significantly, "I take it for granted that all neutral governments will take the same course."

If German submarine commanders have not already sacrificed American life they are almost sure to do so under the orders establishing the new murder zone on the high seas. If the United States now avoids war with the German empire it will be a miracle of good fortune. "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," and no further evidence is needed to prove that the rulers of the German empire have gone mad. They have summoned the powers of the world to fall upon them, and apparently will not be satisfied until they have goaded every neutral into war.

So be it. The President has made it clear that Americans will not hesitate between war and abdication of the independence of the United States.

The situation now calls for extraordinary precautions and rapid preparation. Nothing should be taken for granted. Every step that is called for short of actual hostilities should be taken immediately. Domestic conspiracy and foreign aggression must be blocked by advance preparations wherever possible. The emergency is such that a state of war may develop at any moment.

The United States is no longer neutral. It is not only driven into a sympathetic attitude toward the nations at war with Germany, but it is morally free to assist them even if war does not develop between this country and Germany. An immediate understanding between the United States and the entente nations is desirable, with a view to instant and complete coöperation in case this nation becomes a belligerent. The ports of the United States should be thrown open



at once to the warships of the entente powers; the wireless system should be placed at their disposal; information gathered by American agents abroad should be conveyed to the entente governments for the purpose of capturing German raiders and detecting German submarine bases and operations. A hundred and one friendly services may be extended to the entente governments now with perfect propriety.

If war should come, it would be well for Congress to authorize the President to increase the enlisted force of the navy to at least 125,000 men, and that of the army to 1,000,000 men. He should also be authorized to take over and operate all the shipyards of the United States and to take possession of every vessel under American registry, if deemed necessary. Moreover, the railroads of the United States should be placed in control of the President, at his discretion. He should be authorized to borrow \$1,000,000,000 on the credit of the United States.

*Monday, February 5, 1917*

## Put None But Americans on Guard!

“**H**E WHO dissuades one man from volunteering, or who induces one soldier to desert, weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle.”

So wrote Abraham Lincoln to those who protested against the arrest of an agitator who tried to paralyze the power of the national government.

In the emergency that confronts the United States it is the duty of every American to support his country. Aliens in the United States are bound to obey the laws. Speech that is harmless in time of peace may be as dangerous as a bomb in time of war. Every person, citizen or alien, is required to guard his tongue and his hand, so that he shall not say or do anything hostile to the country. The government is the authority through which the people act. If any man disagrees with the government, it is his duty to keep silence, and by no word or act give aid or comfort to the enemy.

Any man who by his words causes dissension is as hostile as he who is guilty of arson or bomb-throwing. Both are, in fact, traitors, because they give aid and comfort to the enemy. Both deserve death.

The greater the prominence of the man who attacks the government by words or deeds, the greater is his crime and the more severe should be his punishment. A leader of men who goes wrong commits a double crime, because he incites others to violence.

There will be no mincing of matters if the United States should go to war with Germany. The Union will stand as a unit against domestic as well as foreign foes. Those who are guilty of violent and incendiary speech against the government may be more dangerous than spies. They will be suppressed, whatever their position and however exalted their views may pretend to be. This nation when at war with the greatest military power in the world cannot afford to give free rein to domestic cranks, zealots and frenzied leaders of weak-minded tools who may be roused to violence by false preaching.

In case of war every person must declare himself. He who is not for the United States is against it. In every doubtful instance it will be the duty of the authorities to give the United States the benefit of the doubt by employing only Americans in positions of

PUT NONE BUT AMERICANS ON GUARD!

trust and responsibility. Corporations engaged in manufacturing munitions or otherwise supplying the United States owe it to themselves and the country to weed out suspicious characters; and no alert railroad or steamship management will run any risks in this direction.

Put none but Americans on guard!



*Sunday, February 11, 1917*

## Germany Making War and Talking Peace

GERMANY, it appears, has made, or is about to make, overtures to the United States suggesting a discussion for the purpose of devising ways and means of preventing war between the two nations. The intimation is thrown out that while "military necessity" prevented the giving of advance notice to neutral shipping to avoid the death zone prescribed by Germany, there is now a disposition on Germany's part to avoid the sinking of neutral passenger ships without warning.

If such a proposition should be made by Germany it will be merely an insult.

The United States is not seeking to avoid war by yielding any of its rights.

Germany cannot have peace with the United States and pursue its present policy.

No nation in the world can fence in a part of the high seas and destroy American ships or American citizens entering therein without provoking war with this country.

Germany totally mistakes the temper of the President and the American people. They are not prepared to barter with Germany on the basis of escaping war by recognizing the validity of the German death zone.

The proposal to discuss the question is a snare and a scheme for gaining time while Germany continues its wholesale murders of neutrals and terrorizes neutral commerce.

The refusal of Germany to respect neutrals, the persistent sinking of vessels carrying Americans, and the standing threat to destroy American vessels not obeying German rules constitute acts of war.

Germany is now engaged in making war upon American life and American commerce, and is destroying both.

It is now only a question of hours when this de facto war will become a proclaimed public war. A single outrage may precipitate action by Congress, but there will be war in any event unless Germany abandons its attempts to assert sovereign authority over America.

Peace by the surrender of independence has not entered the heart or mind of any American citizen, and it will not do so while the republic endures.

The maintenance of independence is the first care of every American, from the President down to the latest naturalized citizen. Peace or war is secondary to the main issue.

It appears to be impossible for Germany to conceive of a nation whose government will not secretly and treacherously barter away some of its sovereignty for the sake of peace. Nation after nation has shown Germany its mistake, but it is unable to learn by experience. It is now testing out the spirit of the United States, by savage threats on one hand and perfidious overtures on the other.

An American government that would purchase peace by agreeing to the exclusion of Americans from the high seas, or the regulation of American shipping by a foreign nation, would be swept out of power by the people rising to war. No American President or Congress has ever given the slightest evidence of such pusillanimity.

Germany's overtures are palpably intended to seduce the United States into keeping peace while recognizing the validity of the murder zone decree, or, failing that, to make it appear that the United States went to war even after Germany had offered to moderate the rigors of its control over American shipping.

There can be no half-way measures; no compromise whereby a lesser instead of a greater part of American sovereignty is sold for the sake of peace.

America's terms are: Full recognition of and respect for American rights, or war.

Germany can take her choice now, but her answer must be prompt.

*Friday, March 23, 1917*

## Dismiss the Austrians!

THE United States government should put an end to the equivocal and dangerous situation arising out of its present relations with Austria-Hungary.

Germany's ally has given ample cause for a break in relations by adhering to the German policy of murdering Americans on the seas and by declaring that American merchant vessels are pirates. But even if Austria had not taken this position a severance of relations is advisable and may soon be necessary.

The German embassy and consulates in this country have been closed, but Germany's ally is doing business here in the heart of the United States. Every intrigue that Germany may have initiated can be carried on by means of the Austrian diplomatic and consular establishment in this country. Is it safe to assume that the Austrians will not carry forward what the Germans have begun?

Count Tarnowski has not been received by President Wilson, but he is not prevented from exercising his energies in behalf of Austria's ally. The American telegraph and mails and railroads are as free to Count Tarnowski as they are to President Wilson. German plotters in the United States know where to find a rallying point, if they need one. They know where they can obtain information and assistance, and perhaps official instructions.

There is no personal feeling against Count Tarnowski or the other representatives of Austria in this country. They are agreeable gentlemen. But this is not the time to neglect obvious precautions merely because vigilant and effective action would hurt the feelings of persons under the pay and control of a government allied with our public enemy.

From the moment that war exists between the United States and Germany the position of Ambassador Penfield at Vienna will be untenable. He cannot conduct negotiations of any importance, for the reason that Germany will be made acquainted with all details and will thwart the United States at every turn. Similarly, Count Tarnowski at Washington cannot hope to be of service to his country. This government would not deal with him.

The diplomatic intercourse between the United States and Turkey and Bulgaria will also come to an end by force of circumstances.



#### DISMISS THE AUSTRIANS!

Turkey is absolutely dominated by Germany, and scores of American citizens in Turkish territory are now in danger solely because of Germany's hostile attitude. American vessels cannot obtain safe conduct to go to Beirut and bring the Americans away. Our war vessels will go to Beirut, anyhow, as soon as war develops. Relations with Turkey and Bulgaria will surely be ruptured.

The most urgent matter, however, is the closing of the Austrian embassy and consulates in this country. If mischief is afoot, these places cannot be closed too soon. The presumption is that Germany's machinations are carried on through Austrian agents.

Ambassador Penfield should be recalled, and Count Tarnowski should receive his passports forthwith.

*Saturday, March 31, 1917*

### Germany's Fatal Mistake

THE United States will soon be at war. Germany, through her prime minister, declared Thursday that submarine murder would continue and that if the United States should go to war Germany would overcome this nation.

As soon as Congress assembles President Wilson will lay the facts before it. Congress should instantly sound the call to arms.

The nation must stand as one man behind the President, and bid him take up his mighty task with a clear conscience and a stout heart.

Weak men must give way to strong men. The coward pacifist in Congress, if there be any such, must hold his tongue. Congress comes here to execute the people's will. It is the people's will, set forth in the Constitution, that this nation shall maintain liberty for themselves and their posterity. It is their will, voiced by Abraham Lincoln, that this government shall not perish from the earth. It is their will, when liberty is assailed, to attack and destroy the assailant.

When Congress assembles next Monday, let it organize forthwith and receive the President. Let it declare war on the opening day. Let it devote its session to assembling the gigantic unorganized power of this nation to do battle.

The mightiest army on earth is under the orders of the madmen who declare that they will destroy the United States if it dares to protect the lives of its own people. These men have a navy twice as powerful as the United States navy. If they were not confronted by organized nations that are fighting in defense of humanity, they could and would attack, bombard and invade the United States. They are held back, not by fear of us, but by the armies and navies of Great Britain and France.

The fatuous, slothful and cowardly spirit that masquerades as pacifism must be thrust out of American hearts. The spirit of Washington and Paul Jones and Lincoln must be revived if this nation is to retain the liberty which they and their mighty comrades won for us. America aroused can smash any power that comes up against it, but America besotted with fatness and ignorance can be robbed and overcome.

#### GERMANY'S FATAL MISTAKE

"Overcome" is the word which Germany uses to describe what it will do to the United States. "Overcome!" How does that word sound to an American? How does it feel to be classed with Belgium, Serbia, Poland and Roumania?

Germany counts upon America to defeat herself by greed, cowardice, divided counsel, domestic treachery, and mere inability to organize victory. Germany regards America as a huge mob of discordant nationalities scrambling for money. Have we not encouraged her to form this false opinion? Have we not failed to prepare ourselves in spirit and in weapons?

Germany knows that if America were united and on fire with the heroic spirit of liberty militant, the declaration of war would sound the doom of the German empire. But she does not believe that this unity is possible; she believes that this spirit is dead.

Germany has seen evidence of discord, and unscrupulous politics, and greed, and stupor. She has seen no evidence of the old spirit that knocked over thrones in this hemisphere. She has not seen the eagle on the crags or heard his battle-scream.

The hour has come for the world to hear the eagle scream again.



*Monday, April 2, 1917*

## The Irrepressible Conflict

THE Sixty-fifth Congress will meet today to consider what action shall be taken against the power that has struck a deadly blow at the sovereignty of the United States, sunk American ships and murdered American citizens.

This power has ordered the United States to keep its vessels off the seas. It declares that it will continue to sink our ships and murder our citizens, and that if we dare to go to war it will overcome this nation.

Three years ago, if these statements had been made as a prediction regarding the relations between Germany and the United States in 1917, they would have been dismissed as utterances of a madman. So swift has been the onrush of the hurricane, so unbelievable has been the manifestation of despotism's deadly hostility to liberty, that large numbers of the American people, patriotic as they are at heart, do not yet grasp the fact that the nation must fight to maintain its independence. They have lived secure in liberty so long that they will not believe liberty is assailed until they actually hear the war trumpet sound.

Fortunately the majority of the people have been vigilant from the outbreak of the war. They see and understand the nature of the danger that confronts the country. They know that the nation's assailant must be put down by force. They are ready for the struggle.

Abraham Lincoln said: "This nation cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." If he were living now he would say: "This nation cannot endure permanently free on land and a slave on the sea."

Germany assumes the right to exclude the United States from the sea. She maintains the attempt by making war and threatening the defeat of this nation if it resists.

Unless the United States frustrates that attempt and defeats the power that challenges its sovereignty it will not be a free nation. It will be under the orders of Germany.

This nation is strong because it is free. It cannot wear chains and be strong. If it yields half of its freedom it will not be strong enough to maintain the other half. If Germany can successfully

## THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT

assert predominance over this nation on the ocean she can and will assert it over this hemisphere.

When our fathers won freedom and sovereignty for the United States they did not win a qualified victory. They threw off all yokes and bonds. When the Union was in danger they made it forever secure against disruption from within. Now their sons are called upon to defend the nation against foreign assault; to preserve Liberty and Union in all their integrity; to hand down unimpaired the full independence and sovereignty of the United States.

The Union is safe. The men who fought against it were marvels of bravery. Their sons inherit their valor and to the last man are defenders of the Union.

The fight now is between despotism and liberty. A nation thought to be civilized has thrown off its disguise and with naked savagery, bomb in hand, is attacking this nation. It will have its way with us or it must be beaten down by brute force.

Germany and the United States cannot both have their way. Either American sovereignty must be curtailed or Germany's assault upon it must be put down. The American flag must leave the sea or prevail against the savage that assails it.

There is no confusing the issue. It is only too deadly clear. German speech has been a mere cloak to cover aggression. German honor is no more. German promises are lies. German peace offers are the ruses of the savage seeking for advantage. The German purpose is as clear as day. It is to intimidate if possible, and if this does not succeed, to attack and defeat the nation that refuses to obey its orders. The German military oligarchy gladly welcomes the opportunity to strike at self-government and liberty, which it recognizes as deadly enemies of tyranny. The American flag stands for all that oligarchy fears and hates.

Americans in Congress: The American people rely upon you. They ask you to assemble the forces of the nation and move against Germany. They expect you to arm the President with power to destroy the enemy. They trust you to take such action as will make the American flag inviolable henceforth throughout the globe.

Draw the sword, Americans in Congress!

*Wednesday, April 4, 1917*

## Liberty Draws the Sword

**A**MERICANS are now witnesses of the unprecedented spectacle of democracy stripping for a death-grapple with autocracy.

Never before have democracy and autocracy met face to face in a knockout fight for domination of the world. The issue heretofore has not been clearly defined, or the combatants have been unevenly matched, or the field of battle has been too restricted. Usually autocracy was too cunning to come into the open and fight a democracy that had been aroused. It was only when democracy was unfledged or unprepared or in a stupor that autocracy asserted all its brutality and mercilessness. When the sons of liberty were awake and armed, autocracy avoided a finish fight by false pretenses of peace and by making concessions.

The German autocracy deemed the time auspicious for asserting domination of the world. Democracy seemed to be asleep. It was unprepared. Its borders were unguarded, its weapons rusty, its spirit apparently debased by prosperity and cowardice. Autocracy, on the other hand, was armed to the teeth, and all its complicated engineering of war organized for concerted action. The German people were molded into a war machine, as obedient to their masters as clay is to the potter. As the clay does not ask the potter why or wherefore, so the German people dared not question their war lords. The hour was ripe for action, and the system of despotic mandate and slavish obedience was in perfect working order.

In Russia the autocracy seemed to be all-powerful, also, and doubtless the Romanoffs and Hohenzollerns dreamed of disposing of conquered peoples as their imperial wills and the dynasty's best interest should determine. But democracy awoke in Russia, and autocracy crumbled in a night. It is too much to expect the same phenomenon to occur soon in Germany, although the forthcoming defeat of the Hohenzollerns on the field of battle may work a mighty change in the breasts of the infatuated Germans.

Now comes the great republic, the natural enemy and destroyer of autocracy. With insane rage autocracy has challenged the sovereignty of this nation. It has struck squarely at the life of democracy, and boasts that it will overcome the United States.

The spokesman of the world's free people has sounded the call to arms. America is called upon to defend herself and destroy her



assailant. There is not room on earth or ocean for both autocracy and democracy. One or the other must perish.

The American Congress now obeys the will of democracy by arraying the nation for battle. It is a majestic spectacle that is presented under the dome of the Capitol. There are concentrated the heart and mainspring of titanic forces, whose effects will be felt to the ends of the earth. Like a forge of Vulcan, the Congress is hammering out gigantic engines for the destruction of the dark power that has defied Liberty to arms. Not in hysterical and nervous haste, but with massive strokes which shape the rivets of destiny, Congress is bringing into being the weapons that will hurl the Hohenzollern from his throne.

It is not a reichstag that works on Capitol Hill. It is not a gathering of pallid sycophants, meekly bowing to the will of a war-crazed autocrat and his group of saber-rattlers. It is not a counterfeit parliament, falsely pretending to represent the people while betraying them. No! It is an assembly of free men, representing free men, established and perpetuated by free men, and endowed by God and nature with the moral and physical power to declare and maintain freedom against any enemy, foreign or domestic. Congress is the right arm of the oldest republic in the world; the custodian of the sword that guards this nation, this hemisphere, and the adjoining seas.

How grateful to the American patriot are the lights of the Capitol! How eagerly does he watch for the first glint of the terror and glory of the sword of Liberty as it emerges from its scabbard! With what exultation does he see Old Glory straining in the rising gale! The lover of liberty rejoices in the war, for he knows that the sword will not be drawn in vain; that every passing hour now shortens the life of the power that sought to drive liberty from the world.

*Wednesday, April 11, 1917*

## Give Us Compulsory Service

**T**HIS giant nation, possessing the strength necessary to crush any enemy that may come up against it, is about to be put to the test to see whether it can and will organize and exert that strength.

The hour is here when Congress must decide whether or not the American democracy shall be effective in the supreme trial.

Under old conditions, before the beginning of this war, it would have been absurd to draft men into the United States army. There were more volunteers available than could be used to meet any emergency.

All the old conditions have been changed. Modern war is entirely different from the wars of the nineteenth century. Nowadays a nation must organize itself from top to bottom, from the chopper and plowman to the commanders on land and sea. The war is fought on the farms, in the kitchens, in the banks, on the railroads, and in the factories.

A man misplaced in his duties is a man lost. A dollar misspent might as well be presented to the enemy.

The volunteer system is inapplicable to the emergency that confronts the United States. It might be satisfactory if the United States were going to war with Greece or Siam, but it will not meet the needs of war against Germany and her allies.

The volunteer system takes men into the ranks who should not be there. It effectually shields the slacker, who should be there.

Thousands of young men belonging to the national guard are capable of more effective service outside of the ranks than in them. They volunteered in a spirit of patriotism, but they never thought of the fact that war must be fought just as thoroughly in the factory as in the trenches.

Many young men in the bureau of standards, possessing technical training and ability of a high order, are liable to military service in the national guard. The inestimable service they could render in their specialty would be lost to the nation if they should be called to the ranks. There are thousands of such men throughout the country. If volunteers were called for, tens of thousands of others

would step forward, leaving places vacant which could not be easily filled.

The experience of Great Britain is a flaming warning to the United States against adopting the volunteer system. That system tends to disarrange and demoralize industry, transportation, and agriculture, the very foundations of effective modern warfare. It puts a premium on slackers, cowards, and other pacifists.

Great Britain was forced to take tens of thousands of volunteers out of the army and return them to the work for which they were fitted. Then it was forced to reach out for the slackers and put them in the army, where they belonged. The process took two years, during which the British empire was unable to exert its full strength in war. Consequently there were blunders and costly reverses, unnecessary increases of debt, and constant danger of defeat.

If Great Britain had adopted the draft system at the beginning of the war, Germany would now be out of France, if not utterly defeated. Tens of thousands of lives would have been saved.

There is an element in Congress which opposes the draft system, in obedience to the old superstition that it implies "militarism," or is contrary to the spirit of free democracy. One of the congressmen asks, "Why not try the volunteer system, and then resort to drafting a few months hence if the volunteer system fails to work?" This is equivalent to asking, Why not go through the motions of war, and then get down to business a few months hence if Germany refuses to surrender?

Who wants to be responsible for the waste of the lives of American boys during the period of ineffective warfare? Do the opponents of the draft realize that they would unnecessarily condemn Americans to death?

The draft system is not contrary to the spirit of democracy. It is in harmony with it. It destroys distinctions between rich and poor. It insures efficiency in war, both at the front and at home. It guards against the waste of life. It utilizes special training, whether it be on the farm, in the shop, or on the railroad. It forces cowards to do their share. It takes excessive burdens from the backs of eager patriots and places a share upon the backs of slackers. It takes care that families shall not be left destitute while brave fathers are doing the work that unmarried slackers should do.

The best service that Congress can perform for liberty and democracy is to enact the universal compulsory service bill.



*Monday, April 16, 1917*

## The One Great Need

ONE great, outstanding, stubborn fact confronts the United States on the opening of this new and momentous chapter of its history; and this fact demands the courageous and prompt performance of an inescapable duty.

This fact is that the United States has no army in the modern sense, and cannot raise an adequate and efficient army by the volunteer system. The plain duty of Congress arising from this fact is to enact the selective draft bill forthwith.

Tens of thousands of Americans believe there will be no occasion to send an army abroad. They believe the war will end in our favor before an army could be raised and drilled.

But that is what the people of Great Britain believed. They thought the sending of a few men to Antwerp would save that port. They counted upon the easy taking of Constantinople. They believed that 500,000 men would be all that could possibly be used to advantage.

Some men in Congress firmly believe that volunteers will come forward by the million when called for, and that they can be promptly trained. What basis is there for this confidence? What fact justifies the assertion that a volunteer army of 1,000,000 men can be raised and trained in one year?

The experience of this country in former wars, and the experience of Great Britain in this war, point to a different conclusion. The volunteer system is unreliable. Able-bodied men, good material for soldiers, take pains to escape military service. Men who are needed in industry are apt to enlist, and thus impair rather than strengthen the national defense.

The best service a national legislator can perform for his country at this time is to study this matter carefully, setting aside old prejudices and taking into account the situation as it exists. Leadership is needed. Congress must act in behalf of the people. The public approval of universal service is apparent, but this wish of the majority cannot be made effectual unless Congress acts.

No man should assume that this war will end in a few months by the triumph of the allies, without participation by a trained

## THE ONE GREAT NEED

American force. That assumption, if it should cause the defeat of the universal service bill, might lead to the greatest disaster in the history of the world. Hundreds of thousands of American lives might be included in the awful price paid for such a blunder. The nation might awake a year from now to the stern necessity of defending its life against a foe made still more arrogant by victories and still more powerful by having gained access to our coasts.

The only safe course to pursue is the one that will forestall the worst possible outcome of current operations. The most dangerous fallacy is that which underestimates the strength and resources of the enemy and falls into the fatal error of assuming an easy victory.

Now that the United States is at war, it must win. It is not in the blood of Americans to accept defeat or partial victory. The strength and power of the United States must be organized for early and overwhelming victory. The enemy cares nothing for "potential" resources, and he is now calculating upon the United States making a blunder by clinging to the volunteer system. If this country will only make that blunder, German militarism will take heart and prolong the war at least a year, with reasonable hope of defeating its foes.

Congress is doing splendidly when it provides for all the money that may be needed by the United States and its allies. Now let it rise to this unprecedented occasion by providing for all the men that may be needed to smash the German system.

That is the safe plan. That is the only true road to peace.

*Thursday, April 19, 1917*

## America's Opportunity

THE gigantic stage of the world presents now a succession of majestic scenes in which nations are actors, whose slightest acts are history, and whose tremendous conflict draws to a catastrophe which will affect if not determine the future of mankind for a thousand years. The spectators of this drama need not look backward for the inspiration of fateful epochs, or forward toward a phantom future. This present year 1917 is unrolling events before our very eyes as momentous, as charged with fate as any that have been or could be produced by human agencies. We who hear the drums and trappings of millions, who see heroic figures rise and fall, who feel the quakings as the world readjusts itself, are held spellbound by the portent and majesty of the time.

Behind the scenes are energies equally potent for good and evil, unleashed and feverishly at work. The armies and navies are in view, but the secret influences that move and countermove are not before us. There are two battle grounds, one terrible to the sight, and another where fate is weaving an invisible web. Who knows what is going on in Russia? What of the plotting by Germany to win peace in the east by a cunning admixture of bribery, seduction and intimidation? What of the growing discord between Germany and Austria? What is Germany doing among the nations against the United States? What plots and plans and maneuvers are under way, aimed at the consummation of combinations which will give Germany an advantage on the open stage of war?

Great Britain and France are doing gloriously. They are delivering staggering blows. But the blows are not mortal. Germany has at least 10,000,000 men under arms. The fighting on the western front, although on an unprecedented scale, may not decide the war. If strong thrusts had spelled success in this war, Germany would be permanent master of Belgium, France, Serbia and Roumania, and dictator of Austria, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey. We all confidently believe that Germany is merely a temporary occupant of invaded territory; that some or all of her allies will leave her; that her own people will call a halt upon her headlong course toward destruction. But we do not know.

The mistake that Americans should guard against is the assumption that the war will soon end by the triumph of the allies in the



west—that the end of the war is in sight. That assumption, if adopted here, would discourage preparation and thus prolong the war and increase its cost in blood.

While the German autocracy is supreme, with 10,000,000 men in the field and pirates operating under sea, it is folly to assume that the end is near. Fate may have keen disappointments in store for those who fondly suppose that our allies are about to win the war. Russia may collapse into civil war, or the unscrupulous elements in its emergency government may betray it to Germany. The naval situation may change in the twinkling of an eye. The mailed fist may be suddenly reinforced by the release of armies in Poland or Roumania, or by the emergence of sea power.

Now, in 1917, the hour has come for making sure of human liberty for all time. Fortunate is the American who can even partially apprehend the meaning of the pageant that unrolls before him! Happy is the American who realizes that the opportunity has come to him to participate in this sublime liberation! So many have eyes who cannot see; minds that cannot grasp the fact that America's glorious day is here, when the sons of liberty are called to administer the mortal blow to the enemy of mankind.

No timid, halting, doubtful rôle will be played by this nation. There will be no half-hearted preparation for a limited war ending in questionable peace. Never! The manhood and womanhood of the nation are sending their mandate to Washington. They will not be deceived or denied. They demand the right to share in this war equally, each according to his ability. They demand an army drafted universally, of a size commensurate with the power of the nation. They are preparing now, in their minds and hearts and bodies, to be worthy of the opportunity that awaits them. They long for the moment when the United States will be cleared for action. They eagerly wait for the appearance of Old Glory in the midst of the smoke of battle on land and sea. Their hearts are fired in a holy cause; their feet are already keeping time to the drums; their bodies and souls are already dedicated to liberty.

Open wide your eyes and hearts, men of Congress! Grasp boldly and resolutely the levers that will turn loose the torrent of our powers! Make the way open for American hearts and hands to do their work!

*Saturday, April 28, 1917*

## Making Patriotism Efficient

CONGRESS, holder of the sword and the purse, is about to deliver to the President of the United States the weapon that will give the finishing blow to the world's enemy.

Congress has already opened the purse and started a million energies against Germany. Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy and Belgium are invigorated by this power, which instantly enlarges the scope and intensifies the force of their activity. Tens of thousands of hands, tens of thousands of wheels, tens of thousands of hammers are set upon the task of defeating Germany by the opening of America's war-chest.

But the mortal blow will be given by the sword of America, wielded with overwhelming might in the cause of liberty.

The greatest organized brute force in the world having challenged the right of democracy to live in liberty, the Congress of the United States will unloose the forces that guard our liberties. Irresistible might is about to range itself alongside eternal right.

The fatal mistake made by autocracy is in believing that democracy is unable to organize brute force. Relying upon brute force itself, and enabled by despotic rule to drive men into armies, autocracy cannot believe that free men will voluntarily unite and organize to exert force in their own defense. Autocracy cannot conceive of the immortal energy that inspires liberty any more than it can conceive of liberty itself. This energy, in time of outrage and danger, transforms Liberty into an avenging goddess, whose flaming sword rushes into the vitals of her assailant. Autocracy and despotism sign their death warrant when they attack this latent force. Germany's militarism committed suicide when it drew down upon itself the wrath of the spirit that made this a free nation.

Universal service, selective draft, conscription—what have Americans done already, except to dedicate themselves unanimously to the triumph of America? The mandate has already gone forth. The act of Congress will merely make patriotism efficient. It will merely organize democracy; merely insure individual effectiveness; merely avoid confusion of effort. It will tear the blindfold from Liberty's eyes and place a sharp sword in her hand. This is not a question of volunteering. Every American of every age is already a

#### MAKING PATRIOTISM EFFICIENT

volunteer. Congress and the President will use each volunteer for the service he can best perform.

The vote in Congress will be worth a hundred battles in its crushing effect upon those who fancied that democracy and liberty were incapable of systematizing force. It will be as inspiring as a dozen victories on the field to the struggling heroes of France. At the moment the word goes forth that the United States is selecting the first of its willing millions, the war will be decided. The world will have been made safe for democracy.



*Monday, April 30, 1917*

## **Arming the Executive**

**T**HE power of the United States government to organize for war is unlimited by the Constitution. As the maintenance of the United States was the prime object of the people in adopting the Constitution, it was wisely decided that no limitation whatever should be placed upon the power of the government to make war. The authors of the Federalist emphasized the fact that no human foresight could provide against all dangers that might threaten the nation, and hence they explained that the government must necessarily be left unhampered to meet and master any danger from without or within.

Congress may constitutionally do anything necessary to preserve this Union. All rights granted by the Constitution are subordinate to the supreme right of this nation to maintain its independence and its life.

The hour is at hand when Congress must enact far-reaching laws organizing this nation on a war basis. This fact is only dimly seen as yet by many legislators, but they will see it clearly when the President finds himself unable to concentrate effectively the enormous powers that are his as Commander-in-Chief. His executive organization at present is intended for peace purposes, with the exception of a skeleton force in the war and navy departments. The whole organization must be remodeled for the purpose of carrying on successful war.

Congress has taken preliminary steps by opening the purse and authorizing the creation of an army. But these are only parts of the great war organization that must be developed. Money is useless if it will not buy what is necessary, and an army cannot fight without transportation, equipment and food.

All European nations except Germany discovered, after loss of valuable time, that their peace organizations had to be remodeled and adapted to war needs. Their executives, whether emperors, kings or prime ministers, were unable to assemble equipment, food and shipping as needed. New executive agencies had to be evolved. In the meantime there was endless confusion, waste of money, useless loss of life, and utter inability to wage successful war. When the new agencies were developed there was an immediate turn toward efficiency, and now the nations are able to deliver telling blows.

## ARMING THE EXECUTIVE

In every nation there is a central control of transportation, including shipping. There is control of the food supply. There is control of the production of war supplies.

In the United States there is no central control of transportation or shipping; no control of the production, distribution, or price of food; and no control of the price, production, or distribution of war supplies.

In 1916 Congress created the Council of National Defense, with an advisory board of civilians attached, serving without pay and possessing no authority. The council itself consists of six members of the President's cabinet. Neither the State nor the Treasury Department is represented in the council. The council has done valuable work in gathering information, but its powers are ridiculously inadequate, and logically it has no excuse for existence.

The national defense necessarily depends upon the President. He is the executive arm of the nation, the enforcer of the laws and the commander of the army and navy. He cannot transfer his responsibilities to any council of national defense, nor can Congress empower any other person or agency to perform the duty imposed upon him. The heads of the executive departments created by Congress are the logical and necessary council of national defense, and no one of them may be safely excluded from the council.

The question soon to confront Congress is the creation of new executive departments to carry on work for which there is now either very inadequate machinery, or conflicting machinery, or no machinery at all.

There must be one control of transportation and shipping, either in one of the present executive departments or in a new one.

There must be one control of food, either in an existing executive department or in a new one.

There must be one control of munitions of war, either in an existing executive department or in a new one.

As all the existing executive departments are overloaded with work, and as the control of transportation, food and munitions calls for immense organizations if the nation is to wage war successfully, it appears probable that three new executive departments will be created by Congress.

Valuable time no doubt will be lost before Congress equips the Executive for war. But the work will be done. The American people will take the steps necessary to win this war.

*Sunday, May 6, 1917*

## Congress Must Organize the War Power

IT WAS quite natural that the declaration of war should be followed by a season of intense excitement, and that Washington should become the rallying-ground of unduly heated Americans, each with a sublime inspiration compelling him to divulge a plan for the immediate winning of the war. There are as many plans as there are superheated patriots. Whether the plan contemplates the nationwide conservation of melon-rinds, under penalty of death, or the secret introduction into Germany of an army of chinch bugs and cabbage worms, or the abolition of the Constitution, the originator believes that the salvation of democracy depends upon its adoption and the rejection of every other plan.

One of the favorite proposals of the multitude who have no individual panacea is to dump everything upon the shoulders of the President. Don't hesitate; don't discriminate; don't be stingy. Give the President all-embracing and despotic power over the life, liberty and property of everybody, and then call upon him to smash Germany.

Unfortunately there are men in Congress who share this view.

The United States is suddenly called upon to organize for war. Its government is organized for peace—not too well organized at that—and the task of transforming the peace machine into a war machine is complex and arduous. Is Congress to shrink from the task on that account? Is it to shirk its duty in the crisis?

There is not the slightest occasion for Congress to lose its head. It is still the master power of the government, which in the extremity will control the national forces in response to the people's will. It will direct the President to execute the laws it makes, and he will obey. He will conduct the war as Congress directs, with the money it furnishes and the armies and fleets it provides.

Senator Hoke Smith aptly describes the present tendency in Congress when he said: "Suppose I should present a joint resolution declaring that 'Whereas a condition of war exists, and whereas it is important that Congress should adjourn and go home; therefore be it resolved, that whenever the President finds the public safety so requires he is hereby authorized to suspend any existing law and enact any new one that he sees fit.' I would hesitate about voting for such a joint resolution, but I would not feel that in failing to support it I was lacking in confidence in the President or in admiration for



him. To object to loading him with responsibilities that belong to us is no reflection upon him."

If the President should seek to unload upon Congress the task of conducting the diplomatic, military and naval operations of the government at this time he would be doing what some unthinking members of Congress are doing with reference to their duties.

This war will not be won by the creation of commissions and boards. Efficiency will not be gained by grafting upon the peace organism of the government a miscellaneous jumble of war powers. The appointment of honorary advisory commissions to assemble the boy-power of the nation, to conserve the tin cans of the nation, and to mobilize the butchers, bakers and candlestick-makers in war phalanxes has already reached the point of absurdity.

Necessity demands that Congress shall organize this government for war. The work must be done thoroughly. The President gave Congress a strong hint when he suggested that the chief duty of the hour was to make the unorganized strength of the nation effective by careful organization, in which there would be no overlapping or duplication of effort and no failure to attend to necessary matters. No one can organize the nation for war except the law-making power, and no one can conduct the war except the executive.

Already, since April 6, much has been done that must be undone. Loosely drawn laws are going on the statute books, conferring undefined powers upon persons yet unknown. Identical powers are exercised by different authorities. Executive departments are duplicating efforts and aiming at the same object by conflicting methods. Transportation, for example, is in many different hands. Munitions is in still more hands, and the government is likely to bid against itself, as England did. The preposterous demand is made for the creation of a separate department of aviation, as if every weapon of war should be under control of a separate authority.

The need of broad creative work by Congress is evident. The Constitution was purposely left silent as to the extent or nature of the power to be exercised by Congress in the national defense. The founders reasoned that no bounds could be set upon the nature or scope of the dangers that might confront the nation, and therefore no bounds were set upon the power of the government to cope with these dangers. Now that a gigantic assault has been made upon the nation for the purpose of destroying its liberty, Congress faces the duty of organizing the nation for war. It cannot perform this duty by attempting to grant authority to the executive to make laws.

*Wednesday, May 16, 1917*

## Food Control a War Necessity

THE food crisis in the United States calls for the prompt exercise of the national authority. The food control now exercised by conspirators must be taken over by the government. The unorganized people are mere plundered victims of conspiracy and greed. They cannot protect themselves. The government must act for them.

Before the war began prices had been mounting, and immediately after the declaration of war the food pirates began a fresh campaign which for thoroughness and ruthlessness puts submarine pirates to blush.

There is no necessity for the high prices that prevail. The evil condition exists by consent of Congress. It can be swept aside in a week.

Government control of food is made necessary by the war. In taking control the government will checkmate the conspirators who are now taxing millions out of the people's pockets, but even if there were no conspirators there would have to be government control. Food is munitions of war for the United States and its allies. It is as necessary for the government to control food as it is to control ships and the army.

If the relief of the people from criminal exploitation were the only consideration Congress could properly refer the matter to the existing departments of the government after enacting a law to punish price fixers and other food conspirators. But an even greater factor is involved, and it calls for the creation of a new and powerful machine as a weapon of war.

Without government control of food the war could not be fought successfully. The allies would not be able to fight so effectively. The exports would go forth without system, and shipping arrangements would be demoralized, thus hampering both the army and the navy. Railroad operation in the United States would be made ineffective by the choking of traffic. The congestion at terminals would cause food scarcity in many cities, while food would be rotting in huge quantities in other places. Individual enterprise, unsupervised, would make havoc of the government's war plans and operations.

## FOOD CONTROL A WAR NECESSITY

Government control of food is one of the distinct tasks of the United States as a belligerent. The United States must direct the distribution of food. The enemy must not get any of it. Neutrals must await the necessities of our allies. Neutrals that lean toward Germany and which might surreptitiously give or sell food to her must be cut off. This nation might as well ship guns to Germany as to permit food to reach her.

This necessary control of food is a war power, apart from any duty that is performed by any department of the government in time of peace. Individual control of wheat is unthinkable if the United States intends to be effective in war. Speculators could corner the market in airplanes and battleships with less damage than would be caused by a corner in wheat. They would be no more traitorous in one case than in the other.

Discussions in Congress indicate that the necessity of creating distinct executive machinery to carry on the war is now better understood and admitted. When Congress goes a step further and realizes that the blood of American youth will be saved by bold, outright arming of the nation as it should be armed there will come into existence such mighty engines as a department of munitions, a department of food administration and a department of transportation.



*Monday, June 4, 1917*

## Right and Might, the Weapons of Liberty

**T**HIS DAY will be forever memorable in the history of democracy. It celebrates the decision of a mighty nation, devoted to peace, to place the weapon of death in the hands of every citizen, if need be, to defend its liberty. Ten millions of these citizens, of military age, will enroll their names today. This register is a roll of honor at home, and an evidence to the world that government by the people was not born to perish.

The armies of Americans about to be organized will be as large as necessary. The numbers have not been determined. They will be determined partly by the enemy. Germany will share in the decision as to the size and strength of the American forces. But the forces will be sufficient.

When the United States entered into this war it did not go in as a loser. There can be only one result, now that Liberty and Absolutism are face to face. Absolutism will die.

No American should or can speak in a boastful spirit when he declares from his heart that America will win this war. It is not for the glorification of America that the sword is drawn. Americans are not dazzled by the glint of helmets or misled by the pomp and circumstance of war. They enter into it because of necessity, and for one purpose only. When Absolutism has been struck down and Liberty is triumphant, Americans will return to their daily tasks as promptly as they now take up the sword. They will not return until the task is finished.

The world is in convulsions as a result of Germany's assault upon mankind. Russia and China are rocking with anarchy; the belligerents are bleeding; the neutrals are beginning to starve. Conditions will be worse before they are better. The neutrals who escape war will suffer even more than they would if they should go to war. But the tumult does not mean that tyranny is gaining control of humanity. It indicates, rather, that mankind is clubbing and hacking and blundering toward liberty. Every convulsion is a birth-pang of freedom. If man were endowed with divine wisdom he would not need to fall into bloody struggles in order to attain his own liberty and concede liberty to his neighbor. Being what he is, and stirred as he is by the unquenchable thirst for freedom, he goes through blood to get it.

Perhaps more than half of the disorder in Russia and China is due to misunderstanding among men who are striving for the same thing, and who would clasp hands and march all one way if they understood.

So far as America is concerned, however, the cause of the tumult is not obscure. It is nakedly clear. It is the attack made by Germany upon the sovereignty, independence and liberty of America that compels America to fight. The world's confusion does not confuse Americans as to the issue, nor does the universal turmoil deter America one instant in taking up the sword to set Germany right. Russia and China may stagger like drunken men, but America will go forward to its goal. Neutrals may fight Germany or not, as their interests dictate, but from the hour that Germany struck at America the result of the war was foreordained.

Late or soon, the war will end when the German system crashes into ruins under the blows of a nation that is armed with both Right and Might.

*Thursday, June 7, 1917*

## The Greater Army of Liberty

**I**N SHARP contrast with the declaration of the self-appointed spokesmen of Russia, France declares that peace must be accompanied by the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine, reparation for damages done and the giving of effective guaranties for the safety of small nations.

The United States stands with France. It will never countenance a pusillanimous peace. Having taken up the sword for liberty, it will make liberty secure before it sheathes the sword.

The great allies stand where they stood in January, when they outlined their terms. The defection of Russia does not change these terms.

So long as Germany is capable of making war on the world there will be no justice to outraged nations, and no peace. Therefore, Germany must be defeated.

The war can end now only by the defeat of Germany or the defeat of the United States and its allies.

Other nations will probably become involved. The world is unable to extricate itself from its difficulties without a decisive war. It is best that all neutral nations should line up with civilization in a single decisive combat with the powers of evil. The only route to peace and justice to all lies through war.

Russia a stable republic; France, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania restored and rehabilitated; Italy's lost territory recovered; Turkey thrust out of Europe and the Holy Land; Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Switzerland protected against German invasion; America and the western hemisphere made safe forever—all these ends must and will be achieved by civilization in the crushing of German militarism.

Germany obtained a long start by organizing the whole nation for war. Thanks to Belgium and France and England, the aims of Germany were thwarted. The allies gradually overhauled Germany in man-power and equipment. Russia fell out, but the United States came in. Now the obvious duty is to so organize the latest and potentially strongest belligerent that the preponderance of power will overwhelm Germany.



## THE GREATER ARMY OF LIBERTY

Germany will know when to make peace. The kaiser's brute-force experts will know when they are overpowered.

All the organizing skill in the United States is needed to make this nation effective in war. The nation as a whole must concentrate its force in one mighty hammer. The army about to be drafted is only a part of the fighting machine. For 40 years Germany has employed its millions of people as a unit, all of them engaged in the single task of grinding a sharp sword. The German people now, men, women and children, are voluntarily or compulsorily grinding the German sword.

Americans must not expect the army alone to defeat Germany. Those who are not in the ranks are as indispensable as the young men who registered Tuesday. All must belong to the greater army of liberty, which includes every man, woman and child under the flag. Under the government, each person must be at war according to his strength. By frugality, by loyalty in heart and discretion in action, by watchfulness, by industry, by obedience to authority, by readiness to coöperate, individual Americans can arm the United States with irresistible strength. No one else can do it. The government alone cannot do it.

Away with politics, partisanship, personal rivalry and grasping for power or profit! Let every man search his heart, and clean out of it everything but devotion to the United States!

*Wednesday, June 13, 1917*

## Why America Fights for Others

THE note of the British government to the provisional government of Russia heartily accepts President Wilson's definition of the aims of the allies. The British aims are thus stated:

"They did not enter the war as a war of conquest; they are not continuing it for such object. Their purpose at the outset was to defend the existence of their country and enforce respect for international engagements. To those objects have now been added that of liberating populations oppressed by alien tyranny."

Some Americans are disposed to criticize that portion of the allies' war aims which proposes to liberate oppressed populations, on the ground that it is an unnecessary excursion into altruism. "Why seek to regenerate the world?" they ask. "Why should the United States participate in a war for world democracy?"

The answer is that this war will not bring conclusive peace unless oppressed populations are liberated. The world is fighting for liberty and will have it. If Germany should succeed in dominating neighboring populations another war would follow this war, perhaps even bloodier and with darker outlook for the United States.

The safety of human liberty depends upon the defeat of Germany. With Germany defeated the liberation of oppressed peoples will follow inevitably. Poland, both that portion formerly oppressed by Russia and that oppressed by Germany, will become free. The Balkan states will align themselves according to racial sympathies. The Armenians and Syrians will throw off the yoke of Turkey. Serbia, Montenegro and Belgium will recover their national integrity. Albania will become an autonomous nation.

Nothing now prevents the orderly rearrangement of national boundaries and the safe establishment of free governments except the ambition of the German war makers. With Germany beaten the great allies can proceed with the work of liberation and no human power can stop them. Turkey will be put out of Europe and Palestine, and its power to tyrannize over Armenia and Arabia will be destroyed. The Arabians, in fact, have already achieved their independence.

The German argument against the liberation of small nations is that Great Britain does not liberate Ireland, Egypt or India. Count

von Bernstorff even went so far as to suggest that Canada was enslaved, and that it was the duty of the United States to liberate it, with Germany's generous help. The reply to the German argument is that Ireland's fate is in her own hands; Egypt has been taken from the rule of the Turk and placed on the road to self-government; India is a loyal part of the British empire, and Canada's voluntary aid to England speaks for itself.

If Germany had exercised any degree of the wisdom displayed by England in granting self-government to her colonies the war might have had a different aspect. But German brutality was as marked in the German colonies as at home. The state was all, the man nothing but a tool of kaiserism.

It is not in mere quixotism that the United States joins the civilized nations in fighting for the liberation of oppressed populations, it is because there can be no peace on earth until this is accomplished. This nation does not want a war every five or ten years. It has found that it cannot maintain its own independence and national rights when there is widespread war. Therefore it has determined, with its allies, to make this a finish fight, to beat to death the world's enemy, and then to assist in a rearrangement of boundaries which will make other wars improbable, if not impossible.



*Friday, June 15, 1917*

## The Fated House of Hohenzollern

PRESIDENT WILSON'S address of yesterday clearly exposes the reasons why Germany is now intriguing for peace. Having executed part of the plan for the conquest and consolidation of a central European empire extending from the North Sea to Asia Minor, and having possession of valuable trading material in France, Belgium and Poland, Germany finds its dreams of world domination shattered, new enemies rising, domestic discontent and its resources diminishing. The German war lords know better than any one else that their fortunes are on the ebb. They would make peace while there is something remaining to their advantage.

The world has passed the point where it was compelled to give ground to German militarism. The gains made by Germany are plainly attributable to the fact that the world was taken unawares by the combined strength and barbarity of Germany. Humanity was not aware that a murderer nation was plotting against its life. Men fondly supposed that civilization had advanced beyond the age of the deliberate assassination of nations. William II posed as a patron of the arts, boasted of progress in peace, and concealed his real nature so craftily that the world did not suspect that he was a throwback to the age of barbarism. He and his associated assassins were able to build up a murder machine of colossal proportions, and within a month after the completion of the Kiel canal the machine was set in motion. Franz Josef was the tool through which the trap was sprung, and Serbia was to be the first victim. If the great powers had not taken alarm William II would have dominated the world.

Russia, France and Great Britain called a halt. Belgium sacrificed herself rather than become a tool of Germany. Italy repudiated the German murder-plot. From that moment the German war lords have fought like wild beasts within a steadily closing ring of enemies. Fear, and nothing else, has kept Austria-Hungary and Turkey subject to Berlin. Through Count Tarnowski at Sofia and Queen Sophia at Athens the Germans succeeded in bribing Bulgaria and Greece while they overran Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania.

The revolution in Russia has been seized upon by Germany in the hope of seducing Russia into making separate peace and thus weakening the allies. Fortunately this last hope of the Hohenzollerns

is made futile by the sturdy patriotism and good sense of the Russian people.

In the meantime the murmurs of the sorely driven German people are rising to the throne, and William II strives by falsehoods, concealment and vain boastings to delude his own victims. His agents magnify the airplane murders in London into great triumphs; they say, "Give us two months more of submarine destruction and England will quit." As President Wilson well says, "It is their power at home they are thinking about now more than their power abroad. It is that power which is trembling under their very feet, and deep fear has entered their hearts."

William II may try to conceal from his people the news of Constantine's overthrow; of the arrival of Pershing in France, preceding the coming of a new and resourceful enemy; of the strengthening of Russia by America and the other allies; of the losing struggle of Von Hindenburg, beaten to his knees by the superior British artillery; but he cannot conceal from the Germans their own famine, their bankruptcy, their frightful losses of fathers, brothers and sons in a losing war.

Among Germany's allies there is hatred mingled with fear, and a growing resolve to stop further sacrifices to an arrogant and brutal master. Among Germans the inevitable revolt is foreshadowed in sullenness at home and increasing surrenders at the front. The mad conspirators who are driving Germany to ruin may intrigue and plot as they will, but they cannot avert their doom. The world has finally armed itself and is moving upon them with inexorable might. German hearts are breaking under unendurable sorrows, penury and famine. The madmen are driving human nature too far. Rather than die it will revolt.

A few months longer, as the war is going, and the overdriven German people will join civilization in the overthrow of William II and the plotters who have sought by the murder of free nations to aggrandize the fated house of Hohenzollern.

*Wednesday, June 20, 1917*

## Our First Duty Is to Win the War

**T**HE United States is in a life and death struggle with Germany. Germany must either be defeated or it will dominate the United States. Americans have determined that there shall be war until Germany has been defeated.

The length and cost of the war are relatively unimportant. It is the outcome of the war that is important.

The chief business of the United States is to defeat Germany. Everything else is of minor importance.

The war is a business so long as it lasts. Since no one can foretell how long it will last, and since Americans will not stop until victory has been won, the United States to all intents and purposes is engaged permanently in the business of defeating Germany.

No effort, no expenditure, no plan that will contribute essentially to the defeat of Germany should be rejected merely because it is novel, or because it would consume time or money.

Since the chief business of the United States is to defeat Germany, why is the government operated on a system which makes the war a side issue? Why does not the United States organize efficiently for the execution of its chief business? Why does the United States close its eyes to the experience of its allies?

At the beginning of the war France tried to conduct army and munitions operations under the War Department and failed. Great Britain made the same attempt and failed. Both governments have been forced to create ministries of munitions. Even Germany, after the battle of the Somme, was compelled to create the equivalent of a department of munitions.

The battle of the Marne ceased because both sides ran out of munitions. The world did not produce munitions sufficient to supply the armies, which burned up supplies that had been accumulating for years.

The so-called Council of National Defense of the United States was created before the war. Its sole purpose, according to law, is to make investigations. It has no executive powers.

The only council of national defense that can be effective in this country is the President and his cabinet, constituting the executive.



The executive is responsible for the conduct of the war. The executive power in Germany, France, Great Britain and every other nation constitutes the council of national defense. The government, in short, is its own council of defense and it cannot delegate this function to any other body.

The executive in this government is equipped for peace, but not for war. Thus far Congress has pursued the plan of making the war a side issue of peace. It has not equipped the executive with war-making departments, but has subordinated war needs to the existing system of executive departments. Even when it has created a war agency, such as the shipping board, it has not conferred adequate powers and has not made it a part of the executive government. It is now considering a food administration bill, which is not made a part of the true council of national defense, as it should be.

The so-called Council of National Defense is composed of able and patriotic men, acting as volunteers. There being no other machinery, the council is trying to fill the gap. Not having any executive powers, but striving to make the nation effective, it runs counter to Congress, and the Senate commands it not to exceed the limited powers conferred upon it. This council is not connected with the Treasury, which must furnish the sinews of war, nor with the State Department, which is charged with the conduct of foreign relations. Hence the council works in the dark on the most vital matters, and its suggestions are necessarily subject to revision by the real council of national defense, which is the President and his cabinet.

If the President had in his cabinet a secretary of munitions, a secretary of food administration and a secretary of shipping or transportation the executive government of the United States would then constitute a real council of national defense, having at one table all the knowledge and authority now appearing to be necessary for the proper defense of the nation and the efficient conduct of the war. If other war-making departments should be needed they should be created.

If Congress is in doubt as to the need of war-making departments, or as to their scope, it should study the experience of European nations. A legislative commission could be appointed to go to England and France and investigate the manner in which those nations have reconstructed their executive governments for the purpose of making successful war.

It is more important that the United States should win this war than that Congress should cling to the established order of peace.

*Monday, June 25, 1917*

## Shipping Should Be Controlled

**A**S SOON as possible the United States, Great Britain and France should take over control of the ocean freight rates of the world.

By combining their facilities and exerting their powers they can regulate these rates. They can force them down to a reasonable figure—not the figure that prevailed before the war, but one much lower than that which now constitutes a crushing burden.

The allies can also acquire much neutral shipping, either outright or in the shape of cargo space and preferential voyages. In this matter they can work together much more effectively than if they were acting independently in dealing with neutrals.

Odd as it may seem, the United States government has not yet assumed any control whatever over the protection of merchant ships against submarines. The shipowners arm their ships or not, as they please; some of them use antisubmarine devices and some do not; and all of them send their ships out from such ports and at such times as may be convenient to them, without regard to the interests of the government. As ships and cargoes are heavily insured, some shipowners do not deem it necessary to protect their vessels. They take their chances. If the vessel is lost, they collect the insurance. If it gets through, they collect huge profits.

This lack of system is working to the disadvantage of the government. The nation cannot afford to lose merchant shipping through the carelessness or cupidity of owners. These ships are an asset of the nation. If the government does not deem it wise to commandeer them, it should at least take steps to force owners to protect them as much as possible.

The naval consulting board is said to have made great progress in perfecting antisubmarine devices, including a method of increasing the buoyancy of large merchant vessels so that they will float even if torpedoed. The government will adopt these devices on vessels built for government account. But why do not shipowners generally adopt them? Why does the government permit ships to leave these shores unequipped with guns, unfitted with buoyancy devices, and otherwise easy prey for submarines?

The loss of strictly transatlantic shipping has been 10 per cent. through submarine attack. This waste can be checked in some



## SHIPPING SHOULD BE CONTROLLED

measure by prompt and effective regulation of shipping by the United States and Great Britain. Private owners ought to be compelled to equip and operate their vessels with some regard for national needs now and hereafter. The fact that the government provides extra war risk insurance seems to act as an agent of destruction, instead of promoting the growth of the merchant marine. If owners could not get insurance they would quickly fit their vessels with antisubmarine devices. With special equipment provided, owners ought to obtain insurance at a lower rate. Perhaps if the government would scale its insurance rates according to the degree of protection provided by the owners there might be an improvement, but apparently the only certain means of preserving merchant shipping against unnecessary submarine destruction is to assert rigid government regulation of methods of protection, methods of loading, times of sailing, and sailing routes.

The United States and its allies are about to establish a commission to take control of food distribution. Is not control of shipping a necessary auxiliary of food distribution? Surely the allied governments will not perfect a system of food distribution, only to find themselves blocked and overcharged by unregulated and unorganized ocean shipping. The people of the United States would not look kindly upon heavy war taxes, reduced food supply and other hardships, voluntary and involuntary, if shipowners were permitted to extort excessive rates for carrying this food and were also given insurance benefits on ships that could have been saved by using protective equipment. Every ship lost must be replaced by a ship paid for by the people.

Every shipowner is morally bound to prevent the loss of his ships if possible. The rights of the nation are paramount to his private rights. No shipowner has a right to charge excessive rates when manufacturers and others are held down to reasonable profits. The ocean freight rates now prevailing are scandalously high—so high as to become a ruinous tax upon the United States and its allies. Too much of the money loaned by the United States to Italy and other nations is finding its way into the pockets of private shipowners. The government concerned should immediately create an international shipping board with power to regulate rates and routes, to compel owners to provide protective devices, and to regulate marine insurance.



*Thursday, June 28, 1917*

### Alien Enemies in Washington

**M**EMBERS of the missions from allied nations have been astounded by the negligence of the United States government in dealing with alien enemies. While the comment of the visiting foreigners is confined to confidential conversation, it is extremely pointed. Americans returning from France and England are more outspoken in their criticism. They have seen something of German duplicity and tireless intrigue, and they cannot understand why the United States permits diplomatic representatives of Bulgaria and Turkey to remain in Washington, free to gather up and transmit to Germany any kind of information.

The United States is not at war with Austria, Bulgaria, or Turkey, but these satellites of Germany are as truly enemies of this country as is Germany. Their representatives are doubtless under orders to report fully all they can learn here. They can send freely all their correspondence to Mexico and thus procure its transmission to Sofia and Constantinople, and, of course, to Berlin.

If there is any information that might be useful to Germany, there is no reason under the present lax rules why it should not be forwarded.

Information of a vital character is easy to obtain in Washington. Enemy aliens have only to keep their eyes and ears open. They are not excluded from full intercourse with loose-mouthed Americans who unsuspectingly furnish items which, patched together, give a complete outline of American plans on sea and land.

The District of Columbia is the headquarters of the nation in its great business of making war. No enemy alien or ally of the enemy should be permitted to reside within the limits of this District. Confidence in the enemy is supremely dangerous, and may be repaid by treachery causing the death of thousands of American soldiers or sailors.

Americans residing in Washington cannot serve their country better than by keeping close guard of their tongues. The Capital without doubt contains dangerous spies who are forwarding information through Mexico and by other channels. There is little surveillance in the indiscriminate mixing of men who have been drawn here

on account of the war. There is no censorship whatever over the mails to Mexico.

Soon the blood of Americans will be spilled and the country will realize that it is fighting against a colossal organization of savagery and intrigue. The measures found necessary in Europe to suppress the activity of alien enemies will then be adopted here. In the meantime, during this confused period when German, Bulgarian, Austrian, and Turkish spies are free to do their work in Washington, it behooves Americans individually to protect the government to the extent of their ability.

The newspapers are carefully veiling military and naval secrets, but their efforts are made vain in many instances by the careless conversation of men and women in Washington. If, instead of drawing an absurd veil of mystery about the arrival of American troops in France, after they have been safely landed, Mr. Creel and his corps of assistant censors would devote their energies in the direction of accomplishing something tangible, it is possible they might in the end win the public respect and confidence. The name of the port in France where the American forces disembarked has not been printed, but it was flying from mouth to mouth in Washington yesterday. If the German government does not already know the identity of this port it will soon obtain the information from its spies in Washington. An attack upon a transport by submarines will naturally follow.

*Thursday, July 19, 1917*

## Germans and the Truth

THE NEW German chancellor, Dr. Michaelis, confirms first reports to the effect that he was a colorless bureaucrat, a mere tool of the remorseless "system" that is hurrying Germany to destruction. Dr. Michaelis has gone through the form of conferring with the kaiser, the crown prince, Field Marshal Hindenburg and Gen. Ludendorff. What he really did was to take his instructions from them. The war lords have returned to the front, thoroughly assured that there will be no more trouble in Berlin. They are glad to be rid of Bethmann Hollweg, who tried to interpose some moderation in their program of blood and iron.

Dr. Michaelis is to outline "his policies"—that is, the Hohenzollern-Hindenburg policies—to the reichstag today. That his words will belie his purposes goes without saying. The pan-German idea must be paramount. The kaiser and his lords still put their faith in guns and bombs and intrigue. They still regard the German people as food for powder. They are still hopeful of expanding their own power at the expense of German blood and iron. Therefore through their mouthpiece Michaelis they will hold out visions of glorious victory, of prostrate foes pouring billions at Germania's feet. It is poor food for bellies that are pinched, and poor consolation for those who have already contributed their menfolk to the holocaust.

What is the absorptive limit of Germany in the matter of falsehoods? When will the point of saturation be reached? The allusions by Chancellor Michaelis to America, if he should make any, will perhaps furnish a guide for estimating the capacity of Germans to absorb ignorance and misinformation. It is plain that this distinct quality in Germans has prolonged the war and immensely increased its horrors. If they had had the ability accurately to gauge foreign feeling, if they had been able to distinguish fact from error in estimating their enemies' souls, they would not have indulged in the curiously naïve diabolism which they believed would strike terror to the heart of civilized humanity.

The air raids which destroy women and children, the savage boasts and menaces of the war lords, the hideous painting of German aircraft, the harebrained exploits of bomb-plotters in enemy countries, the empty pretense of carrying on commerce as usual—



these are all part and parcel of that impregnable German ignorance which distorts and discolours all impressions it receives from the outside world.

This mental condition is exactly like that of the redskins of America in the early days before they had gained knowledge of the white man. The redskins, fearing devils and the dark, painted their faces like devils and naturally hoped to scare their enemies to death. They whooped and howled as they danced in imitation of evil spirits. Gradually they learned that palefaces were not to be frightened, that "frightfulness" was mere childishness. The Germans will learn the same lesson in time, when they have reached the plane of intelligence attained by modern Indians.

In the meantime it is not to be expected that the German people will gain a clear idea of the terrible forces that free nations are assembling against Germany. Deluded by their leaders, fed with flattering falsehoods, the German people cannot gain access to truth any more than they can obtain bread. Everything in the empire is now based on falsification and substitution. Lies take the place of truth exactly as painted paper takes the place of leather. All that the new chancellor can do is to add to the public stock of misinformation. He probably does not know much about America, but if he knew the truth he would not be permitted to tell it. He must substitute falsehoods.

The truth must be literally shot into Germany.

*Saturday, July 28, 1917*

## War Aims and Peace Terms

EVERY parliament in allied countries has been resounding the demands of excited statesmen, clamoring for a "statement of our war aims and our peace terms." It seems to be the conviction of each speaker that if his government would only frame a proper formula, the enemy would promptly become a friend and peace would follow.

So far as the United States is concerned, there is no necessity for any restatement of war aims or peace terms. Any man in the United States who is ignorant of the reason why the United States is at war should be ashamed of himself. He might not be conspicuous in Russia, but he is offensively prominent here. What he needs is not more language, but another headpiece.

There is no necessity for any of the allies to restate their war aims or peace terms. Words are superfluous. The best utterance on the subject of war and peace is that which issues from the black throats of the allies' guns on land and sea.

The most stubborn and savage German can understand a bullet. His mental reaction to an 8-inch shell amidships is acute. The argument conveyed by a well-placed bomb carries plausibility to his mind. He responds with alacrity also to suggestions of peace at the point of a bayonet wielded by a demon in kilts or khaki.

Many a German, strangling in the tomb of a stricken submarine, has employed his last moment of intelligence in the thought that peace is best, after all.

The shells that scatter the splinters of the German throne over a cratered wilderness will make the war aims and peace terms of the allies perfectly understood and acceptable.

So long as William II lives and can order Germans into willing graves, he will not understand the allies' war aims or peace terms. No language can be framed which will mean the same thing to the intellect of the allies and the distorted intellect of Germany.

Reason and counsel are not interchangeable between the allies and Germany now. Reason, true reason, rests in nitroglycerin and T. N. T. Logic, persuasion and concord are not found in language, but in the armored bowels of brute force as it tramples its way through skulls.

## WAR AIMS AND PEACE TERMS

The German crown prince plainly told the allies what kind of language to use in dealing with Germany when he described the submarines as the last argument of kings. Brute force! That is the language which Germany understands.

Americans waste time when they talk of peace. There is no peace. It is a pity that the United States Senate must listen to peace talk for a single moment. Time is precious now; it means conservation of American life if quickly utilized. Let Congress confine its remarks to the one word "Aye!" on bills appropriating billions for the national defense.

The brute force latent in the United States is sufficient to hammer peace into Germany. Let us not discuss anything but the development of this brute force and its prompt service.



*Wednesday, August 1, 1917*

## Seeking Out the Enemy

MANY Americans who ought to know better cling to the argument that it is unwise and unnecessary to send American troops abroad "to fight for others." They insist that the American troops are not in France to defend America, but to assist the allies in their fight with Germany. "If the United States should be invaded, then we should fight to the last man. But we have no business fighting in Europe."

This kind of reasoning has appealed with great force to tens of thousands of Americans whose patriotism cannot be questioned. They would fight to the death in defense of the country, if it were attacked, but they do not understand why the United States army should be sent to Europe.

The simple truth is that every American soldier sent to Europe is sent in defense of this country. The United States has been attacked just as effectively as if the kaiser's armies were bombarding New York. There was an "invasion" of the United States when the German government insolently ordered American ships off the high seas. When the kaiser's agents set bounds to the sovereignty of the United States on the high seas, and murdered Americans who dared to disobey the commands of the German government, the United States was invaded as truly and as dangerously as if the German army had entered the outskirts of Washington.

It is for full sovereign rights as an independent nation that the United States fights. It is not merely to keep German soldiers off American soil. Sovereignty means more than the strength to repel invasion. It means the power to enforce respect and recognition of national right, anywhere in the world.

When American soldiers are in Europe, organizing to move on Berlin, they are where they belong. They are defending the flag and moving forward to compel respect for its right to fly anywhere on the high seas. When America defends its flag and its rights it does not move backward. It moves toward the enemy's works. It never ceases to move forward until it takes the enemy's works and forces an unconditional surrender.

It happens that other nations have been attacked by Germany and are moving to defeat her. The United States would fight whether

#### SEEKING OUT THE ENEMY

they fought or not, but it is happy to fight by their side. The fight will be merrier and the enemy will be all the more soundly punished.

Germany is not the enemy of the United States on the Atlantic Ocean only. She is an enemy wherever found, and it is the right and duty of America to hit her wherever she is vulnerable, either in Europe, Asia Minor or on the seas. The allies of Germany are the enemies of the United States. They should be declared such, and the United States should make war upon them. The defeat of Austria-Hungary and its complete emancipation from German rule would not only defeat Germany, but keep her defeated.

It may be that the United States could aid the allies in striking a fearful blow at Germany through the Balkans. If so, the United States should not hesitate to act. Germany will compel Turkey to massacre Americans wherever military interests will be served. Germany is our enemy everywhere, at all times, through all agencies. The United States, representing self-government and liberty, is the shining target for every missile possessed by absolutism, represented by Germany.

It is an irrepressible, world-wide conflict between liberty and her foes. American soldiers and sailors are at home wherever they can find the enemy.

*Sunday, August 5, 1917*

## Defeat Germany, Then Give Her Peace

**P**REMIER LLOYD GEORGE has again placed the world under obligations by a speech that drives away all mists and leaves the issue between Germany and civilization sharp and clear. Among the half hysterical and socialistic demands for statements of "war aims," Mr. Lloyd George's position is wonderfully simple. His war aims, summed up in one word, are: Victory. Moreover, he sees victory ahead, and acutely notes that Germany sees it also. Germany can speak plainly the word "peace," he remarks, but she stutters on the word "restoration." But she will learn to speak more plainly as shot and shell are poured into her melting ranks.

The proposal to make peace before victory cannot be considered by the allies while they are in possession of their senses. Mr. Lloyd George sees that peace would merely enable Germany to recoup her strength for another struggle in which she might be victorious. There must be no "next time," says the British premier. The status of the nations must be fixed now, by this war. Democracy, self-government, adjustment of boundaries according to nationalities when practicable, and other means of insuring lasting peace must be the fruits of this war.

Thoroughly fought out, this war may be transformed into a blessing for the world by giving the people the opportunity to rule themselves. Half fought out, the war would mean a vast extension of German oppression and an immediate threat of still greater war. The free nations would be instantly compelled to arm to the teeth and prepare to fight Germany. Singly they might not be able to resist her, and thus they might go down. Combined as they are now, they can thoroughly beat Germany within a year or two and then make a peace on civilization's terms, not on Germany's.

Germany is defeated now, if the allies will merely hold together and administer the finishing strokes. The malignant, slippery monster that calls itself Germany is now contriving with all its might to obtain peace before its life is crushed out. If the allies permit it to wriggle out of their death-grip it will try to repay them by destroying them.

Samuel Gompers never did a better day's work than when he rejected the invitation plot to involve American labor in the con-



ference at Stockholm. This invitation is inspired by Germany, operating upon weak-minded tools in France and Britain. The clumsy plot appears to have fooled many open-minded and honest men in Europe, but it has not misled the governments, nor does it delude Americans.

Americans see clearly that the only peace to which Germany is entitled is the peace imposed upon her by overwhelming defeat. When her legions are shattered, her domination over Austria blasted away, her Hohenzollerns knocked off their throne, her troops thrust back within her boundaries and her people show unmistakable evidence of repentance and a desire to behave decently toward their neighbors, it will be time to talk peace. The peace terms will then be laid down to Germany, and Germany as a spent and beaten offender will pay the price of peace. The price which she has made others pay for war must be paid by her for peace.

There is no compromise. There is no method whereby civilization can be half shackled by a Germany half beaten. Either the shackles will be burst off or Germany will not be beaten. Nor can the struggle be postponed. It is here and now that the world must settle accounts with Germany, for all time to come.

*Tuesday, August 7, 1917*

## Why Not Fight with All Our Power?

**A**MERICANS do not question the necessity of war against Germany until victory is achieved. There is no thought of any outcome other than victory. The duration of the war does not cause apprehension. The American attitude seems to be expressed by Col. Roosevelt when he says: "No one can tell how long this war will last. If we are true to ourselves we will make it last just as long as is necessary in order to insure the complete overthrow of the Prussianized Germany of the Hohenzollerns."

It is hardly to be gainsaid, however, that America has not authorized the full use of its strength toward defeating the imperial liberticide whose downfall is a foregone conclusion. Why should the process be prolonged because America does not fight its best from the very start?

There are boastful articles in the newspapers because of the fact that over 800,000 Americans are now actually under arms in the army and navy and marine corps. That is a situation that should be humiliating instead of inspiring. Holland can say as much; little Holland, which trembles whenever the cold eyes of the German kaiser turn toward her. Sweden can call out at a moment's notice as many men as are now bearing the American flag on land and sea; and yet Sweden fears Germany's wrath as one fears assassination.

It is announced that there will be no submarine-chasers, because torpedoboat destroyers have been found more efficient. But this announcement comes four months after the war began. Was it not possible to take advantage of British and French naval experience without weighing the subject four months? Is the plan just now going into effect, after four months' waste of time? That does not seem to be waging war against Germany as it should be waged. That is the manner of a feeble and timorous navy, not the manner of John Paul Jones and those other heroes down to Dewey.

The strength and power of the United States will be measured and will count for the amount exerted against Germany, not the amount that could be exerted.

If the United States limits its fighting strength to 1,000,000 or 1,500,000, or even 2,000,000 men, it will strike a blow no harder than could be struck by any other nation capable of raising 2,000,000 men;

#### WHY NOT FIGHT WITH ALL OUR POWER?

say Holland, Portugal, Sweden, Spain, Brazil or Argentina. The blow felt by Germany will not be any more effective than if there were no gigantic nation of 100,000,000 Americans behind the blow.

The only difference between small nations and the United States when it limits its war energies to an equality with them is that those nations would be doing their best and would be soon exhausted, while the United States would carry on the war indefinitely by raising another 2,000,000 men if need be.

Victory would finally go to the United States, but perhaps at a loss of 3,000,000 men who could have been saved, most of them, by the exercise of overwhelming force from the very beginning.

Since the United States is in to win, why should it balk at any figures of men, money or ships? The greater the massing of forces, the shorter will be the war; for Germany will surrender when she sees that she must surrender or be annihilated. A short war means fewer lives lost. Therefore every American should strive to broaden the vision of his representatives in Washington and urge upon them the wisdom of making preparations on a scale in keeping with the immensity of this nation and its power to defend its existence and its liberty.



*Wednesday, August 8, 1917*

## Another Year of War

**A**NOTHER year of war is foreshadowed by every development in Europe and America. The great antagonists are deadlocked on three fronts, while the Russian demoralization renders hostilities in the eastern field nothing more than useless, aimless effusion of blood. Czernowicz has changed hands at least ten times, and may change hands a dozen more before the war ends. For all practical purposes the allies and their enemies may as well call a halt along the Russian front while they fight to a decision elsewhere.

Kerensky's efforts to save the crazy Russian nation are spectacular and exciting, but so far as the war is concerned they mean nothing. Russia cannot organize to withstand German attacks, and Germany cannot absorb Russia. They are both facing a terrific winter, and if they are wise they will begin to dig in along that front, without trying to achieve victory this fall.

The French and British armies, with splendid gallantry and persistence, are doing sore damage to the Germans in Flanders and northern France. They have made decided headway toward one objective, which is Zeebrugge and its submarine base. Nevertheless, the rate of progress is slow. With the best of wishes for immediate and overwhelming success, it cannot be said in candor that there is any prospect of rolling the Germans out of the way before next spring.

Conferences have been held recently in which some of the larger aspects of the war and widely separated factors have been discussed. Italy and Serbia have had their claims carefully considered by France and Great Britain. China's entry into the war has been evident since the failure of the German plot to restore the Manchu emperor. The Balkan field has been scrutinized, particularly with reference to the participation of the Greek army in an offensive against Bulgaria. All of these factors, however, depend for their evolution upon still larger factors, such as the financial resources of the allies, the concert of opinion of the military and naval commanders as to the best way to win the war, the part to be played by the United States on the western front, etc. It is not conceivable, for example, that the war can be won before winter in the Balkans, under any possible plan of operations.

As for the United States, upon which all the allies depend for various kinds of assistance, it is quite evident that this country cannot bring the war to an end this year. Physical facts cannot be ignored. The ocean must be crossed, and after vessels have been provided there must be an allowance for losses. The national army will be in camp by October, with good luck, but it will not be a trained fighting force at that time. If there is no untoward delay it can begin to be sent to France by January 1. The transfer of 200,000 men per month would mean that April 1 would arrive before the entire army would be on French soil. A couple of months' intensive training there would make it ready for business. In the meantime Germany will be reinforced by its annual harvest of 600,000 well-drilled men, while Austria-Hungary will be refreshed with still more.

An enormous addition must be made to American shipping capacity. The allies must have supplies without interruption; the army must be sent across; and following the army there must be five or six tons kept afloat for every man sent across.

Anybody in America who halts a second in war preparation to talk peace or peace possibilities is, if he is at heart loyal, a perfect idiot. Intelligent suspension of war preparations can only be inspired by disloyalty. Every second of delay for the sake of talking possible peace is a direct aid to Germany.

By straining every nerve, the United States will be in fair fighting trim at the front by the beginning of next summer. From all information available, there need be no fear that peace will arrive before Americans can join in the fighting.

*Wednesday, August 22, 1917*

## Through War to Liberty

THE Russian Ambassador, in a formal statement regarding the Pope's peace proposal, says: "It is considered in Russia that the very bases of the Vatican's proposals are inconsistent with the democratic aims of the Russian people in this war, and are not acceptable from that point of view."

Inconsistent with democratic aims! That phrase tells the whole story of the forthcoming unanimous rejection of the peace proposal by the allied nations.

Peace with Germany, with Germany still able to fall upon peaceable self-governing neighbors without warning and destroy them, is not the peace that civilization is looking for. War is preferable to such a peace.

A written peace with Germany, a treaty peace—what is it? Would there not be something shameful in making a solemn engagement with a government that has firmly established its character as a liar? Would not the allied governments be properly chargeable with treason to their own peoples if they should strike a false bargain, knowing that they were subjecting the safety of their nations to a scrap of paper? At a time when the allies, by merely persevering, can shatter the German government and compel a just peace with a chastened Germany, it would be a crime against mankind to compromise with the pulicicides who rule Germany.

What is the fighting for? Why is the mighty United States, the peace-loving giant republic, massing its millions? Is it some verbal misunderstanding, some petty quarrel that is capable of easy adjustment by a couple of diplomatic conferences? The Americans who think they see peace without victory over Germany are reckoning without consideration of the past or the future.

The United States is fighting the great fight of freedom. This war marks the turning-point of humanity, and it cannot be settled until it is settled right. It goes deeper into the heart of mankind than the civil war, which could not be settled until it was settled right. Unexpected, unpremeditated, this war has developed into the epochal struggle of mankind to be free; to govern itself; to live on its own soil, under its own government; to throw off the domination of the scepter, the saber, the knout; and to destroy the com-



bination of political and physical power personified by the German emperor, because this combination is bent upon destroying free nations.

The United States is not fighting for itself alone. It is fighting particularly for this hemisphere, every foot of which is dedicated to liberty. The New World is represented on the fighting front by America. The strength of the New World will be spent, if necessary, for victory.

God moves in a mysterious way. Mankind rarely detects the workings of the divine hand at the moment. Years hence, when self-government shall have been recognized as the normal right of humanity, it will be easier to perceive the reason why the United States of America fought in Europe, and why for liberty's sake it dealt blows of such merciless, terrible force that they seemed to be superhuman.

*Tuesday, August 28, 1917*

## The Dangers in an Armistice

THE sinister suggestion has been thrown out that all that Pope Benedict expects from his peace overtures is an armistice, during which the belligerents may agree on their respective sides as to their terms of peace, and then endeavor to meet in conference with their enemies. It is suggested that if the antagonists once suspend operations they will not resume hostilities.

An armistice, giving Germany and Austria a chance to breathe, might be a fatal move for the allies. It would be to the advantage of the Teutons in every respect. Germany has virtually occupied the territory mapped out by her in her ambitious "Hamburg-to-the-Persian-gulf" program. German military force now controls a greater area than the German empire itself. Every moment of time gained by Germany by way of armistice would be utilized in strengthening her hold upon this occupied territory. Germany does not intend to surrender a foot of ground, wherever occupied.

The German military party has convinced itself that only a firm hold upon occupied territory will save Germany. The talk of "no annexation" in Germany is mere dust in the eyes of the enemy. The soul of the German movement is annexation by conquest.

An armistice would paralyze the valiant arm of Field Marshal Haig, at a time when he is delivering stunning blows. It would halt the French, who are throwing the invader back. It would confuse and discourage Americans in their preparation for great work in France. It would destroy the value of the heroic victories of the Italians. It would tend to disintegrate the blockade of Germany, interfere with American plans to cut off supplies going into Germany, and finally it would create a situation conducive to misunderstanding among the allies.

The Teutonic alliance is in little danger of disorganization, because it is dominated by one nation, whose will is law from Hamburg to Jerusalem. The entente alliance is a league of free and equal nations, not dominated by any power, and while all of them are inspired by a powerful motive for combining for their common defense, there are many interests among them which might be seized upon by skillful provocateurs as the basis of misunderstanding and perhaps antagonism. While the allies are actively fighting the common enemy

these interests cannot disturb their counsels. Once permit the prospect of peace without complete victory to appear, together with a cessation of hostilities, and self-interest might induce some nations to make their own case paramount to the common cause. Victory, on the other hand, would reassure each of the entente allies that its cause could safely await disposition in the general peace council.

It must be borne in mind that Germany and Austria want peace or an armistice above all things. Now, while they are ahead, they want peace; not later, when defeats have disheartened their people, wrested territory from them, and destroyed forever the dream of a greater German empire. Peace now means victory for Germany. Energetic war means victory for the allies.

Germany had every reason in 1914 to maintain the peace. Her commerce was expanding, her people were prosperous, and her prestige among the nations was steadily growing. Germany deliberately murdered peace and chose to make enemies of all nations, if necessary, rather than surrender her attempt to dominate the world. The only safe way to meet and master such madness is to give Germany her fill of war; to grant peace to her only after she has been soundly whipped.



*Sunday, September 2, 1917*

## For Short and Victorious War

THE Senate has wisely decided not to impose excessive taxes upon American industry. The vote which rejected the proposal to take away practically all profits ought to be construed by industry as a guarantee that the government, in pursuing the enemy, will not run amuck at home.

We have more than once ventured the suggestion that the people are not demanding that this war shall be paid for as it is fought. The prize sought is not a passing one, to be enjoyed solely by the generation that wins it. The war with Germany is not an enterprise to be financed out of current revenue, fortified by extra taxes. It is a crisis in the nation's history, which will affect the national life forever, according to the sequel. Triumphant, the United States will never again be compelled to draw the sword to defend or vindicate democracy; defeated, government of the people, by the people, for the people will perish from the earth. Therefore no plea, no domestic situation, no combination of circumstances should influence the United States against assembling its whole strength for one mighty, decisive, victorious stroke.

The strength of this nation is in its free spirit, its defenders, its wealth, and its ability to utilize its resources. Russia has greater resources, but it cannot utilize them and consequently it cannot fight effectively. China has wonderful resources, but they are not at the disposal of highly developed industry, and accordingly China is impotent in war, although she has at least 30,000,000 able-bodied men of military age.

Nothing should be done by the government to diminish the nation's spirit or its ability to utilize its resources.

We speak of overwhelming Germany with airplanes, of defeating her by superior machinery of war, of developing wonderful destructive agents, and so on. What does this talk amount to, if there is no actual accomplishment? It is what American industry, ingenuity and teamwork actually produce, not what they might or should produce, that will affect Germany. The German war-makers pay no attention to words. They pay sharp attention to deeds.

Any mistake in dealing with American industry, either in taxation or price fixing, which would demoralize or discourage produc-

tion, would surely prolong the war, if it did not make the outcome doubtful. Men will not produce at a loss, even if they are inspired by patriotism, because they cannot set aside economic law. Their workers demand pay. Difficult as the task may be, the government must conform to economic law and at the same time defeat Germany. If the law could be swept aside, if coal would obey a government decree and produce itself at \$1 a ton, steel at \$25, copper at 8 cents a pound, and bread at 5 cents a loaf, while wages automatically increased, there might be some point in the argument that the war should be paid for as it is fought.

Industry cannot be taxed to the bone and be compelled to produce at a loss, and at the same time be expected to increase production. The burst of energy, the expenditure of effort required to defeat Germany quickly, would not be forthcoming. It is a choice between extending the duration of the war or drawing upon the future. By keeping the load of taxation within bounds, making up the balance by bond issues extending into the future, and granting reasonable profits to industry, there will be a marvelous exhibition of America's ability to utilize its resources for the purpose of waging victorious war. Then the war will be both short and victorious. Then the country will flourish, and increased taxes, easily borne, will soon wipe out the costs.

*Wednesday, September 5, 1917*

## The Army of Freedom

**D**EMOCRACY was made visible yesterday in the Capital of the United States, when the President, the Senate, the House of Representatives, many other officials and the first men called to the colors from the District of Columbia marched down Pennsylvania avenue. It was a sight more impressive in its meaning than any pompous review of legions by any king or emperor. It represented a self-operating, self-ruling government. The man at the head of the column was not there by virtue of any claim of divine right. He appeared, not as ruler, but as chief servant of the people who placed him there. They applauded him, not as a hereditary ruler who had graciously condescended to utilize them for his kingly ambitions, but as a man chosen by themselves to be their guide and leader.

The procession was made up of men who, with their fellows throughout the Union, are about to enforce the proposition that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth. Americans know that this is to be the last time that America will ever be called upon to vindicate her liberty and independence. They realize that the right of men to govern themselves is challenged by a group of desperate rulers who have assembled unprecedented power for the purpose of dominating or destroying all popular governments. America, the champion of self-government, is determined to shatter the physical power of those autocrats, and thus relegate forever to the past the menace to liberty. Every man who marched behind the President of the United States was a representative of the millions who will march on the enemy.

The future is a sealed book, and no one can write down the sequel to this historic march, except in one particular. It can be stated now, as certainly as if the last chapter of the war had been reached, that the United States will successfully assert and maintain its independence, its democratic government, its undiminished and unquestioned sovereignty, its equal right to the high seas of the world, its peaceful enjoyment of its own territory without disturbance from spies and traitors, its right to sympathize with and assist oppressed peoples, and its special right and duty to defend and protect the free republics of the New World.



## THE ARMY OF FREEDOM

The God of battles will determine how and when American lads shall fall, and whether their bones shall rest under alien skies or in the deep bosom of the ocean; but true Americans devoutly believe that not one of these lads will die in vain. They believe that the divinity that shapes the ends of liberty has decreed that the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs shall go down to destruction, and that free nations will emerge out of the autocracies that have blighted mankind.

It is with fierce joy that Americans welcome the final test of the perpetuity of their republic. They are glad that the struggle is coming now, if it had to come. With exulting hearts they prepare to deliver the deathstroke to the enemy of mankind. They are impatient to see the Stars and Stripes flying in the lightning and the storm, at the head of the banners of free nations that march to victory.

*Saturday, September 8, 1917*

## Japan and the United States

**A**SIDE from the arrangements now on foot whereby the United States and Japan may effectively coöperate in the common cause of war, and in addition to these practical matters, the results of the visit of the Japanese mission to America are most gratifying and far-reaching. From the moment the visitors from the Orient received the first cheer of welcome at San Francisco to the present hour, Americans have been glad to extend the hand of hospitality. California's cordial greeting was especially significant, since it was California that embarrassed the friendly relations of the two governments some years ago. The feeling on the Pacific coast has steadily changed for the better as the solid virtues of the Japanese people and government have been better understood.

It was in the House of Representatives, however, that a more certain expression of American feeling toward Japan was made by representatives from every part of the Union. The appearance of the members of the mission was the signal for an extraordinary outburst, which manifested America's admiration for what Japan has accomplished and what it stands ready to do in this war. America instinctively pays homage to courage and ability. It is especially glad to honor frugality, industry and a lively sense of self-respect. These universally admirable qualities are conspicuous in the Japanese people. They have raised Japan to high estate and opened for it a future glowing with promise.

The Pacific Ocean is wide enough to give America and Japan all possible room for growth and prosperity, and deep enough to drown every possible cause of difference. In the spacious areas bordering upon that sea will be developed new civilizations, and the ancient barriers that made and kept the east and west strangers will be swept away.

In the centuries preceding Columbus' voyage the European who actually traveled from Venice to a place in the Orient where he could gain authentic knowledge of Cipango, the marvelous island beyond Cathay, was a man who could command the attention of kings and popes.

Since Columbus' time the way to Japan has been across the unending leagues of sea; a laborious voyage even now, and tending

to prevent the people of either country from thoroughly understanding the other. Considering the natural obstacles, it is a marvel that the United States and Japan have not been interrupted in the development of friendship and understanding. In the days to come, with communication wonderfully improved by air travel, the two nations will laugh at the mistaken notions of the past, based upon isolation and ignorance.

With clasped hands, the United States and Japan look frankly at each other, recognizing that the east and west are both alike and not alike. In matters not alike, there is at least mutual respect for the other's rights. In matters that are alike, such as a sense of honor and justice, the two nations stand firmly together against a nation that deliberately and willfully, for sake of gain, threw away its honor.

Honor, justice and truth are not overcome by latitude or longitude. Japan and the United States understand each other.



*Tuesday, September 11, 1917*

## No Peace with Germany Unbeaten

**C**HANCELLOR MICHAELIS announces that Germany will soon be able to outline her peace terms. That announcement would be of supreme importance if Germany were defeated or broken, but as matters stand it means nothing more than a fresh effort to deceive.

The unshakable determination of the allied governments is voiced by President Wilson. This decision is that no uncertain peace will be made with Germany. Peace will be made only with a Germany that is morally unwilling and physically incapable of repeating the outrages that have inflamed the world. Therefore the democratization of Germany does not necessarily mean peace, although it opens the way to peace. If Germany, after having been liberalized, should retain her militarism, she need not expect the civilized governments of the world to make terms with her except on the battlefield.

Michaelis is not the man to propose acceptable peace terms. He does not represent the civilized portion of the German people. Whatever disguise he may adopt, his voice is the voice of the kaiser and he deceives no one. A better man than Michaelis, chosen by the people and not by the kaiser, must appear and offer peace before civilization will cease war on the barbarians. The disappearance of such men as Michaelis is one of the proofs that the world demands from Germany to show that reform has begun.

The enemy may read President Wilson's note as he pleases, but he cannot draw from it any support of the idea that the United States or the allied nations will shake hands with Germany the moment she has liberalized her government, and forget all that Germany has done. The world will not make peace without a reckoning and a guarantee. Peace without a reckoning for outrages committed would mean a German victory, a reward to the butchers for their bloody work; and peace without a guarantee would mean that Germany would be free to repeat her assault upon civilization.

So it does not matter what Michaelis may say unless his message is a surrender.

As for the collapse of Russia, Germany's acts reveal only too plainly that there is no spirit of peace in the Berlin conspirators. "Peace terms" is made a lying phrase by the acts of Germany. When

#### NO PEACE WITH GERMANY UNBEATEN

the German staff thought Russia was strong there were hypocritical peace overtures and fraternization of soldiers. When Russia was found to be demoralized, the peace overtures were followed by asphyxiating bombs and the Russians were run out of Riga. There is more good territory along the Baltic which Germany must have. She is gobbling it as fast as possible. So long as this process is under way there will be no peace. The German people are still misled by their mendacious emperor, who dangles before them dazzling promises of conquest and victory, with the blasphemous assurance that the Deity smiles upon Germany's murderous work.

Germany defeated will make peace, but Germany advancing and fattening on her neighbors will never make peace. Adversity, hunger and defeat will work wonders in democratizing Germany and civilizing the people.

Peace talk from any German source, from the emperor down to the meanest spy, is nothing but treachery while Germany is unbeaten.

*Thursday, September 13, 1917*

## The Great Drama in Russia

RUSSIA attracts the world's attention by engaging in civil strife while Hohenzollern savages are burning the gates and preparing to overrun the land. It is a stupendous drama, full of the gorgeous color and mystery of the east, while drawing into the coil of the plot every western nation. The stage is an empire comprising one-seventh of the earth. The actors are men of obscure origin and unknown potentialities, from whom at any moment may emerge a colossal figure mingling western science with oriental fatalism, capable of vast benevolences and appalling crimes; a Genghis Khan, a Peter the Great and a Lincoln merged into one contradictory individual.

Korniloff or Kerensky, or a greater than either, may be even now moving toward the seat of power over the millions of Russia. A thousand circumstances make it impossible for any one to foresee the outcome of present disturbances, even if witnessing them at close range. From this distance it appears that Korniloff represents the moderate, practical element that leans neither to absolutism nor socialistic idealism. Korniloff is plainly a man in deadly earnest, intent upon restoring order and then defeating the Germans. Kerensky's aim is the same, but he would accomplish it by methods which have not been effectual in dealing with men in masses. He clings to the idea that an army can be governed by committees, while Korniloff would govern it by officers wielding the power of life and death.

Apparently the systems represented by these men must be subjected to the test of battle, and one or the other leader may lose his life. That is the price that is only too often paid by patriots who serve liberty struggling from the bonds of tyranny. It may be that the blood of Kerensky or the blood of Korniloff is needed to cement the foundation stones of the new Russia; and the men who shed this blood may be the chief mourners thereafter.

The allied nations can do little more than look on at the conflagration in Russia. They can assist somewhat by diverting Germany, but the foe cannot be prevented from making inroads while the guardians are fighting among themselves. Russia must work out her own salvation. Peace with Germany might not facilitate matters much in Russia; indeed, some observers are of the opinion that the



Russians are more likely to adjust their internal differences under stress of foreign danger than otherwise.

No accurate information is forthcoming as to the extent of German influence in the turmoil that is culminating in civil war in Russia. It may be taken for granted that the spies of Germany are active and ingenious in stirring up strife. The first object of Germany is to prevent Russia from exerting military power; the second presumably is to contrive a separate peace with Russia. One of the probabilities, therefore, is the appearance of a faction secretly financed and supported by Germany, which will seek to obtain control if only for a period long enough to execute a treaty betraying the country to Germany.

Fortunately for the safety of Russia, in this respect, the country has been put on its guard against German plotters, and no considerable portion of the Russian public should be so credulous as to be misled by men in German employ.

*Saturday, September 15, 1917*

## The War Must Go On

THE outline of the Teutonic reply to the Pope's peace proposal reveals it to be nothing more than a pretense. While pretending to make concessions, Germany makes none. While speaking of the right of all peoples to regulate their own governments, Germany's rulers deny the right to their own people. The reply is nothing more than verbal fencing, in an attempt to dodge the unerring point of President Wilson's rapier without revealing to the German people the fatal weakness of Germany's cause.

Probably the German people will look upon the Teutonic reply as admirable. The official propaganda has done its work well, encouraging the German people to continue fighting and starving by convincing them that their enemies must soon capitulate. The reply will be interpreted to the German people as a skillful piece of work, enticing the enemy into peace without yielding any essential advantage.

Throughout the war it has been proved that the German people are singularly receptive to official falsehoods. So long as any statement is made upon authority of the German government, it is believed, without regard to inherent probability. The more preposterous the assertion the more passionately is it seized upon by the sorely pressed victims of German misrule. The German population actually believes that France is in its last throes; that Great Britain is on the verge of starvation; that Italy is about to face revolution; that Russia is a ruin, and that the United States is torn by conflicting opinions, emaciated by the money disease, and unable to gather strength sufficient to strike an effective blow.

Confidence in what the government says and does seems to be a substitute for religion in Germany. It is a part of patriotism to take the mental food that is doled out, without protesting against the quality or quantity. Germany is on short rations of facts as well as of food, and if there are no truth cards in circulation it is because the commodity has disappeared. The people are provided with a substitute for the truth, which is filling but not nourishing.

The desperate stage of a desperate game has been reached by the German emperor and his satellites. They must make peace within a few weeks or months, or they are forever lost. The lies which once

lulled the German mind are becoming ineffective. The people are wondering why the enemy is so stubborn. Has not the emperor told the foes that they were defeated? Why do they persist in fighting? Is not Germany occupying Belgium, France, Poland, Galicia, Courland, Bukowina, Roumania, Serbia, Montenegro and other territory? Can it be possible that Germany must actually conquer the world and occupy Paris, London, Petrograd, Rome and Washington before the prostrate enemies will make peace? That cannot be done, even by Germany's glorious steel-hard armies; hence the dreadful question thrusts itself forward, Has Germany lost the war? Must we and not the enemy sue for peace?

The allies are content to go forward with the war. Struggle as he will, the German emperor is caught. The power of civilization and liberty, loose-jointed and unmilitary as it is, vastly excels the strength of German militarism. The fate of Germany's masters has been written; all that remains is the due execution.

The war will go on until German power is humbled and disabled. Peace proposals mean nothing, and replies to them are hardly worth writing. The German people must learn the truth by adversity if they will not or cannot learn it otherwise.



*Thursday, September 20, 1917*

## Liberty on the March

THE turmoil in Russia and the confusion necessarily attending America's war preparations have served to dishearten a certain type of American. This type must have sunny skies always, with couriers dashing up with reports of overwhelming victories on every field. A single setback, a single disappointing report, and the skies grow black and defeat is a certainty.

The true American stands back, a little apart from the crowd, and quietly applies his individual intelligence to the situation. He is anything but disheartened. On the contrary, he is more confident than ever that the country is right; that it is right to be in the war, right in its preparations, right in its attitude toward friends and foes, and right before God.

The disturbances in Russia do not call for disgust and abandonment of Russia by the United States. They call for instant, complete, eager help for the millions of free people who are trying to shape a republic. Will it be said that America stood cynically by and saw a nation struggling, without extending to it any help whatever? What would have become of this nation if the French had been cynical and pessimistic in 1776?

Americans would be poltroons and desecrators of liberty if they deserted the Russian people now, in the hour of their confusion. This is the hour for courage, confidence and aid. There should pour forth from America a stream of strength to Russia—men, materials, money, everything that will help the Russians to establish a government of, by and for the people. From this coast and from the Pacific steamships should be hurrying across with railroad equipment, locomotives, cars, guns, rifles, rations, clothing, airplanes, wireless outfits, motor trucks and every other necessity of war. With them should go engineers, mechanics, electricians, railroad builders and operators, army and navy officers, automobile builders, wireless operators, and as many soldiers as Russia needs or America can spare.

Every pound of steel, every bullet, every can of meat, every man sent to aid Russia is a blow at Germany and a stroke for human liberty. Let there be no niggardliness in helping Russia! Let the New World pour out its resources and help the struggling giant of the snows! Hereafter, when the world is over its nightmare, Russia will

return a thousandfold every act of friendship. The millions of that colossal republic, united in free fraternity with the millions of this republic, will constitute a force that the world will never treat with anything but absolute respect.

No need of a treaty; there is no treaty between the United States and France. A tie stronger than treaties binds the warm hearts of those nations.

As for America's war preparations, why look at the imperfections when one may look at the spectacle of a mighty nation arising from its slumber, drawing to itself the powers and riches of a hemisphere, and forging the weapon whose thunders will be the Declaration of Independence of all mankind? For itself America draws the blade that is sheathed only with victory; but she draws it also for liberty, which of right belongs to Russia and the rest of the world as well as to America.

Roughly and rudely free men group together to defend their liberties. They are jealous of liberty, and will not throw it away while trying to preserve it. The free nations, by the very fact of their freedom, do not act as machines or slaves. But they are drawing together vast powers from inconceivable reservoirs of strength, and with the spirit of outraged Liberty they will strike down, demolish, and obliterate the devilish spirit and force that would shackle mankind.

*Monday, September 24, 1917*

## The Changing Submarine Problem

SUBMARINES are now hunting their prey in packs, like veritable wolves of the sea. One reason for this method of pursuit is the practice of the allies in sending out transports in squadrons of twenty or more, convoyed by cruisers and destroyers. The speed of the squadron is determined by the slowest vessel, often not more than five or six knots an hour. As the squadron approaches the danger zone the vessels are required to zigzag continually, which further decreases their speed.

It is estimated that 90 per cent. of 10-knot vessels fall victims of submarines, while only 10 per cent. of 16-knot vessels are lost. Slow vessels, singly or in squadron, are easy prey for submarines. The convoy saves a transport from shellfire, but not from torpedo attack. A submarine usually pays no attention to a convoy, directing its torpedoes always against the cargo vessel. These facts support the policy of the Emergency Fleet Corporation in suspending plans for the construction of slow wooden vessels.

Experience day by day in dealing with the submarine enables the allied governments to make progress in defensive measures. There is still much to be done, but now that the governments know what is necessary, the work is half accomplished. Besides smoke boxes for screening vessels, the use of smokeless fuel, the arming of vessels with quick-fire guns, increased speed and vigilant convoy service, one or two other methods can be adopted which will save vessels. One of the important lessons of recent encounters is that vessels must carry heavier guns. A 3-inch gun is worse than useless when a submarine carries a 6-inch gun. It was an unequal duel of that kind which sent the *Campana* to the bottom after her captain and gun crew had been taken prisoners.

It is the present practice of German submarines to hover off the coast of France and England, lying in wait for transport squadrons. In one recent encounter no less than nine submarines coöperated in an attack. They almost succeeded in destroying a transport, but expert seamanship and gunnery, aided by a French airship, fought off the undersea boats. When the details of that encounter are published they will reflect great credit upon the United States navy.

When one contemplates the prodigious tonnages that must be transported to France and the steady diminution of shipping, it is



difficult to refrain from joining the rising chorus that is demanding some kind of aggressive action by the British and American fleets. Some experts insist that Helgoland and the mined coast of Germany can be overcome by the combined allied fleets, while other experts assert that such an attempt would be more costly and ineffectual than the enterprise at the Dardanelles. There is reason to believe, however, that the allies have decided to make desperate efforts to destroy the submarine bases on the Belgian coast, and to tighten the cordon around the North Sea.

Germany is building additional submarines and shaping her policy so that new frightfulness will be possible next spring. About 280 submarines will be ready by next May, according to the best information obtainable. By that time, unless winter forces suspension of destruction, the shipping controlled by the allies will be materially less than now, and the margin for American transport necessities correspondingly narrower. These necessities will be at their maximum at the time when the supply of shipping will be at the minimum. It is this fact which calls for the exercise of every possible protective measure, the redoubling of energy in building ships, and the hardening of the American spirit to resist the effect of losses that will surely come.

*Friday, September 28, 1917*

## The Robber Wants Peace

GERMANY is making her peace overtures substantially as foreseen by the allied governments. German psychology is running true to form. The policy of secrecy, mendacity and rapacity, driven into operation by desperate conditions, results in one peace proposal after another, each so incurably base and corrupt as to constitute an insult to the world's intelligence as well as its honor.

The manner of these peace overtures is as furtive as their substance. The latest bait, dealing with Belgium, is not a direct offer, but comes indirectly in the shape of a verbal note from Kuhlmann to the papal nuncio at Munich. Kuhlmann is the diplomat whose kultur in the art of lying made his service at Constantinople conspicuous and earned for him the office of foreign minister. It is said that he is even more brightly polished than Count von Bernstorff.

Kuhlmann's proposal regarding Belgium is that Germany shall restore the kingdom to its people. That sounds well. Then he outlines the conditions upon which Germany would be willing to restore the property she has stolen. Among the conditions are these: That Germany should have a free hand at Antwerp; that the country should be divided administratively to suit Germany; that guarantees should be given against the repetition of such menace as that which threatened Germany in 1914. This latter condition is equivalent to the charge that Belgium was conspiring in 1914 to assist France and England to invade Germany, and that only Germany's instant invasion of Belgium saved Germany from a deadly attack through Belgian territory.

There it is; the thief will release part of his plunder if he is permitted to retain what he wants, dictate the government of the remainder, and obtain a bond declaring that he is not a thief, but was merely engaged in preventing thieves from entering his premises.

After reading the "Willy-Nicky" correspondence it is easier to understand the curious mixture of evil purpose and naïve expression that distinguishes the distorted brain of the German emperor. The stupidity of German diplomacy is rendered more plain when the world has an opportunity to see the workings of the Hohenzollern intellect. That intellect has not changed since the old vulture days when the Hohenzollerns roosted on their crags, swooped down upon

their victims, and bore away women and booty to their stronghold. They were robbers and assassins then, and they are robbers and assassins now.

It is the policy of this robber Hohenzollern empire to throw out bait, as little as will effect the purpose, to induce Germany's enemies to desist from attacking her. She has immense spoils, and all that remains is to escape safely. The plaint of German newspapers is that the allied nations are beaten, but stubbornly refuse to admit it. Why the allies persist in fighting is a great mystery to Germany. But since they do persist, some of the booty must be offered as a bribe for peace. Let them have Belgium, with strong strings attached. If this will not satisfy them, let them have Serbia also, with conditions which will make the bait worthless. And then Poland, and northern France, and Alsace and Lorraine, always with reservations.

Germany's peace overtures are as deadly as poison gas. They are no more friendly than submarine attacks. They have the same quality of treachery. The allies would be simple-minded fools if they should suspend for a single second their preparations to demolish Germany, in order to listen to her peace proposals.

It is perfectly evident that the robber will not disgorge until forced to do so. The necessary force is now assembling. There is no escape from the avenging hand. Let it be raised in might, and let it strike home!



*Monday, October 1, 1917*

### Only at the Cannon's Mouth

GERMANY'S intention to hold all territory taken in the war, in order to obtain the greatest possible advantage in the peace conference, is the clear announcement of Chancellor Michaelis. For once he is telling the truth.

If it were possible to imagine the voluntary and unconditional relinquishment of German colonies by Great Britain and Japan, it would be easy to imagine that Germany might let go of Belgium. On neither side is friendly concession possible. Whatever is relinquished must be relinquished under the compulsion of war.

Until the enemies of Germany have driven her out of invaded territories it would be the height of folly to begin peace negotiations. Under the law of nations each party is entitled to hold what it possesses, and if it surrenders any captured territory it requires an equivalent concession of some kind. The starting point of peace negotiations must be the war map, not the map as it stood before the war. There was a Belgium once, and a Serbia, but they do not exist now. Unless Germany's enemies drive her from the territory that was once Belgium and Serbia, Germany will not relinquish that territory any more than she will relinquish Brandenburg. The allies would have to pay all and more than Belgium and Serbia were worth to induce Germany to agree in a peace conference to withdraw from those territories, if she should actually hold them at the time of the conference.

Germany is willing to make peace. So would the allies be willing, if they had the advantage of holding an immense proportion of enemy territory and could force Germany to pay their price for its recovery. What trading material do the allies possess, except the German colonies and some Teuton ships?

Germany's trump card is the enemy territory she holds. The allies' trump card is their superiority in military resources. If they play this card skillfully they will be able eventually to do with Germany as they please.

The game is far from finished. Overconfidence has injured both players, but principally the allies. Germany expected to win early in the game, but when she failed she readjusted her plans with lightning swiftness. The allies expected Belgium to hold the Liège forts;

they expected the British handful to hold Antwerp; they expected the British fleet to knock over the Dardanelles forts and take Constantinople; they expected Serbia to hold Belgrade; they expected Russia to overwhelm Austria and take and hold East Prussia; they expected Bulgaria to join the entente; they expected Sarraïl to cut the Orient railroad; they expected Grand Duke Nicholas to march along the Black Sea coast from Trebizond to Constantinople; they expected Korniloff to work new wonders in Galicia; they expected many other triumphs which need not be mentioned, all of which failed to materialize.

And now many Americans expect Germany to sue for peace rather than fight the United States.

This is not the time for Americans to boast. Let them boast after the enemy is beaten and they have laid their armor off. By what logic is it presumed that 500,000 Americans will defeat Germany, when three or four times that many Germans may be withdrawn from the Russian front to meet the Americans? Is it wise to underestimate the enemy?

By colossal preparation and deadly fixedness of purpose, by thorough coöperation with the allies, by absolute devotion to the one cause of victory, America will be able to furnish the strength needed to win. It is pure madness to expect Germany to yield anything except at the cannon's mouth.

*Thursday, October 4, 1917*

## The World League Knocking Out War

**M**ANY persons think the present war is nothing less than the suicide of nations. The "suicide of Europe" is used by some pessimistic individuals as a description of the struggle.

This appears to us to be an erroneous view. A better and more accurate statement would be this: The struggle in Europe is the suicide of war.

Nations will remain, and Europe will remain, but war will have committed suicide.

Once this war dies there will not be another world war. The peoples of every nation in the world are wondering how to stop this war. It is a terrible problem, but humanity is solving it. Having reassumed control, men will fashion a bridle and a bit that will keep nations in check.

Liberty will be under a check-rein, so that it will not run into license; and men exercising authority, as kings or presidents or premiers, will wear bridles and bits, with the reins in the hands of the people.

All men see clearly now why there is war and why war is committing suicide. It is the last attempt of the old system to dominate the world. The old system of the divine right of kings is in a finish fight with the new system of government by the people.

The mistake made by the world up to 1914 was in presuming that Europe was civilized and all the rest of the globe rapidly acquiring civilization. Germany's barbaric philosophy, insane egotism and feverish war preparations were regarded as the idle vaporings of a vain but harmless monarch, a fellow a little tainted in blood and brain, as many kings are nowadays. Nobody took the man Hohenzollern seriously when he bragged of German supremacy and breathed threatenings and slaughter. But he was supported by the stout, frugal, steady German people, who stick to the old ideas as they stick to life itself, and who accepted as gospel Hohenzollern's rubbish concerning his inheritance from God. With their aid this megalomaniac built up a wonderful war machine and proceeded to try to prove to the whole world that he was God's special agent and sole director of mundane affairs.



Owing to the misdirection and misapplication of the virtues of the German people it has been difficult for the world to reach Hohenzollern and knock his addled brains out. There was no war machinery to equal Germany's, and the rest of the world insisted upon behaving in a civilized manner, even in warfare.

Now there is war machinery superior to Germany's. Sledgehammer blows are beating into the German people a glimmering of the truth; reluctantly, but steadily, they are rubbing their eyes and discovering that they are and of right ought to be their own masters, and masters of no one else. The world has taken Hohenzollern's measure and is engaged in laying him low. With him will go the other Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, and any other king or potentate who cares or dares to stand forth and assert that he is a ruler by divine right. All the claptrap and trumpery of divine rulership goes into the rubbish heap together.

Self-governing nations will share this earth. Independent, free and self-governing, they will naturally and inevitably combine to destroy any ruler, nation or people that attempts to destroy a neighbor's independence. They have already combined to do this, and are in the very act of destroying the only combination that threatens self-governing nations.

Every free nation in the world should eagerly and quickly join in the splendid task of demolishing the last stronghold of blasphemous "divine rulership," which has taken civilization unawares and caused the world to bleed.

Thank God, the United States of America has bared its sword and is sharing gloriously in the work of cleaning up the Hohenzollerns!

*Friday, October 5, 1917*

## Under the Stars and Stripes

THE attitude of the business men of the United States toward the government is most inspiring at this time. Like everybody else, business men are suddenly forced to look at old habits and relations in a new light. The war is shaking Americans into a new consciousness, and compelling them to readjust themselves and their affairs to an entirely novel situation. The new situation is changeable, as well as novel, and this fact requires men to be ready to expand their minds still further; to be receptive to truth, however strange it may be; to look ahead as far as possible, and to be resolute as well as circumspect.

Without any military or naval struggle to thrill the blood, American business men have quickly understood the nature of their duty to the country and have promptly prepared themselves in mind, heart and fortune to perform that duty. The proportion of slackers in industry is very small. Here and there is a would-be profiteer whose dull brain has not caught fire from the divine spark of patriotism. He is despised by his fellows, and if he fails to get understanding he will be cast out or crushed.

One after another, the industries of the United States are wheeling into line, like magnificent divisions on a tremendous field of battle. They are taking their places in defense of the American flag as instinctively and as efficiently as though they had always been organized for possible war.

It is inspiring to see American lads march under the Stars and Stripes, and it is also inspiring to see American industry turn aside from profit-making to marshal its resources for the arming and protecting of the boys under the flag. The hard, practical spirit of American business had been ashamed of revealing its heart. The leaders reserved their emotions for their private hours. But when American business men saw their own sons marching away, and began to realize that a failure to deal fairly with the government meant mistreatment of their own flesh and blood, the spirit of patriotism swept through every factory and counting house in the country.

In building the Panama Canal the industries of the United States coöperated with the government in an attack upon natural obstacles, and gloriously won the battle. The same audacity that split the

mountains and whipped rivers about like a whiplash is now challenged by a cunning, savage and powerful enemy. This enemy is skilled in warfare, wields absolute authority over at least 10,000,000 fighting men, and occupies a position of immense defensive strength. Is American industry daunted? Is it faint-hearted at the prospect?

On the contrary, the gigantic forces of this nation respond exultingly to the challenge. The leviathans of coal and electricity begin to throb and glow; the wheels turn, the lights flash, the chimneys bombard the skies with smoke. Labor bares the arm that tore the continent in two, and takes up the hammer of Thor. The field marshals of industry are in Washington, reporting for duty as punctually as any sentinel. America's industrial millions, the indomitable brain and brawn that have made this nation the granary and the powerhouse of the world, are all massed behind the government of the United States.

Blow, bugles, blow!



*Sunday, October 7, 1917*

## Preparing Germany for the Truth

THE Congress has adjourned for a brief time after a session that will ever be conspicuous in the annals of America. Congress was called to deliberate upon the momentous question of war. It declared for war as the only course the United States could take in preserving its independence, its national rights, and the lives and property of its people. Thereupon, through six months of conscientious toil, Congress considered, perfected and enacted the legislation that puts into motion the country's latent powers. The purse was opened and \$20,000,000,000 apportioned for war; the sword was drawn, to be wielded with all the strength of this nation, and not to be sheathed without victory.

What vicegerent of the Almighty instructed Congress to take these irrevocable steps? What anointed head, on a throne established by divine authority, issued the fiat upon which Congress acted? The people of the enemy nation do not understand how the American Congress could meet and of its own motion enact laws which mobilize the manhood, the farms, the mountains, the rivers, the forests and the mines of this continent and transform into colossal missiles of death, to be hurled at the heart of Germany.

How is it done? Whence arises the power? The reichstag has no such power. The bundesrat cannot do such things. America has no emperor, no All Highest, and yet it amasses piles of gold and mountains of weapons, far exceeding all that the fatherland can accomplish. America has loaned over 8,000,000,000 marks to its allies! And its marks are not depreciated marks, but worth their face in gold! What is to be thought when Belgium, the prostrate little country that can barely twitch under Germany's spiked heel—what is to be thought when even Belgium can borrow money from the Americans, to continue the fight against Germany? And England, hated England! How is it that America opens its hands and loans hundreds of millions to England, to be spent for guns and shells to hurl against Hindenburg?

The Germans cannot understand America. This nation, they think, must be insane. Why does it begin the war with such stupendous preparations, such excessive zeal? America was all right, the Germans say. Germany was not infringing seriously upon her rights.

The U-boat necessities required Germany to put neutrals aside to some extent, but this was purely incidental to the main object of defeating France and England. But the Americans were so touchy! They would not listen to explanations. They insisted upon ridiculously scrupulous respect for their rights, even while Germany was in the midst of war. They seemed to be hypnotized by their own devotion to such phrases as "liberty and independence," "the right of self-government," and similar rubbish.

The session of Congress just ended will only be understood in Germany when the laws have been translated into physical power and this power matched against Germany's. When the infatuated Germans see that the brute force of their enemies is stronger than their own brute force they will then begin to understand that there is something effective in the idea of free government as opposed to their own idea of taking orders from a person of shady antecedents who claims to have God's authority for misruling them. From that moment it will be easier for them to understand that Congress takes its instructions from the people and not from impostors who pose as monopolists of divine favor. That fact learned, the Germans may take it into their heads to try self-government on their own account.

They are slow to learn, the Germans, but they do not hesitate to appropriate good ideas from other nations, as witness the borrowings they have made from French chemists and other scientists. Moreover, the hammering of superior guns, while it stuns them for the moment, is a marvelous eye-opener for the Germans. It prepares their minds for all kinds of new ideas.

*Tuesday, October 9, 1917*

### An Opening for Statesmanship

**P**ERU and Uruguay have severed relations with the German empire. The President of Argentina is standing out against the overwhelming sentiment of his country, but it is a foregone conclusion that Argentina will join the general alliance against the power that has attacked civilization. Chile will follow suit. With Brazil and Bolivia already aligned, there is little doubt that Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela will declare themselves. In the meantime the Central American nations are showing their colors as opposed to Germany.

The significance of this action by New World republics cannot be lost on Germany. German traders have been flourishing in all those countries. The adaptability of the Germans to life in Spanish-speaking countries has been remarkable. Trade had developed between Germany and Latin America to a notable degree before the war. There were indications that the United States would be badly beaten in the contest for trade in this hemisphere.

Now Germany is piling up strong barriers against the resumption of this trade after the war. A treaty of general peace will theoretically tear down all barriers, it is true, but actually they will remain if the deep feeling of distrust of German good faith is not removed. This distrust of Germany has been intensified by the abhorrence with which civilization has witnessed German barbarities. Continued acts of savagery, perpetrated scientifically in cold blood by direction of the German government, have so indelibly stamped themselves upon the consciousness of mankind that years must elapse before the impression is dimmed.

The republics of the New World are not turning against Germany for the sake of throwing trade to the United States. If American traders wish this business they must work for it. They are afforded exceptional opportunities, however, and if the United States government will pursue an enlightened commercial policy in the midst of war the nation will be greatly benefited by having its foreign trade stimulated and entrenched. The expansion of this trade means greater prosperity, which in turn means added resources for meeting the expenses of the war. It is incumbent upon the government to expand trade as a means of fertilizing the taxable resources of the country.



Never before have such splendid opportunities for statesmanship been unfolded before the eyes of Americans. The nations of the New World gladly range themselves alongside the United States, on the solid foundation of justice and liberty as outlined by President Wilson. These nations are actuated by the spirit of independence and self-respect. The war induces them to combine their influence, and, if necessary, their physical strength, in the common cause of liberty and self-government. As the leader in this movement the United States enjoys a proud and honorable position, which is cheerfully acknowledged by the sister republics.

Upon the foundation of mutual defense against the menace of absolutism, mutual aspirations for independent development under republican self-government and mutual respect for each other's rights, the United States can help to build an indestructible union of the New World. This union of republics ought to be the greatest force in the world for maintaining just peace among men. It could properly coöperate with other leagues of nations in other portions of the globe. Within its own boundaries it could foster commerce and intellectual intercourse from Canada to Cape Horn, with lasting benefit to every nation. Thus, through Germany's blind sacrifice of her trade advantages and her insane acts of barbarism, the New World may find a better and quicker road to prosperity and peace. The way is open for wonderful pioneering achievements by statesmen in the two Americas.

*Friday, October 12, 1917*

### The Plans of the Enemy

THE forthcoming visit of Emperor William to Sofia to confer with the ruling spirits of the Balkans has already given rise to reports that new peace schemes are being concocted, in which Turkey, Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary are to act as stalking-horses for Germany. At the same time a leading Italian writer reminds the United States that Austria is even more reactionary than Germany, and bases its oppression of subject peoples on the doctrine of the divine right of kings. He asks the United States to take a hand in smashing the Austrian system, as the most effective means of making Europe and the world safe for democracy.

Meanwhile Chancellor Michaelis and Foreign Minister Kuehlmann fiercely declare that Alsace-Lorraine is not a debatable question. They suggest that everything else can be adjusted by negotiation, but that France's insistence upon the disannexation of Alsace and Lorraine from Germany can be answered only by the word No. So long as a German lives to handle a gun, says Kuehlmann, German territory will not be surrendered.

The speeches of these German leaders are of value only as showing more clearly than ever to Americans that there is only one duty before them—the duty of victory. In a sense it is idle for the Germans to discuss peace or how it will be achieved. In another sense the discussion is profitable, for it discloses to Germany's enemies that they are on the right track when they aim at the disarming of the outlaw. Every utterance by German leaders reveals the innate evil of the German system. Its purpose is foul; its existence is a menace to the life of honorable governments; its intention to destroy is as tenacious as its intention to survive, and it can be made innocuous only by ending its existence.

The conviction is widespread among thoughtful Americans that the upsetting of the Hohenzollern dynasty will not insure peace for Europe or America, if the Hapsburg dynasty is permitted to survive and the German empire is merely forced to change its rulers. The belief is growing that only the extirpation of the "divine right" system will make self-government secure among the nations. Certainly when the "divine right" doctrine is fortified by military power, there can be no compromise. Either it must be destroyed or it will destroy democracy.

The question that will inevitably confront the United States is whether it will be satisfied with a compromise for the sake of temporary peace, or whether it will stand firmly with the allied nations until the dark force that threatens free men has been wiped from the earth. Too many thoughtless Americans think only of peace, as a relief from hardship. If Germany were to ask for an armistice they would be gullible enough to favor it, and a few hypocritical words of apology from Germany would be accepted by them as squaring accounts.

Germany still hopes to deceive the United States into making a deceptive and ruinous peace. First may come a proposition for an armistice. Germany may thrust her allies forward, to ask for a better understanding with the United States. Sops will be thrown out as inducements to discuss peace. Every effort will be made to avoid a decisive struggle with the United States, which could only end in the downfall of the German system.

Obviously the United States should class Germany's allies as enemies. No faith should be placed in anything that Germany or her allies may say, for the truth is not in them. The only communication with the enemy should be by shot and shell until the enemy is incapable of maintaining such communication further. Then the United States and the allies can safely make peace.



*Sunday, October 14, 1917*

### False vs. True Liberty

THE headlong growth of socialism and the inability of any human being to foretell the direction, scope or final nature of the movement have convinced many thinkers that democracy had better be on guard against a foe even more formidable than autocracy. The striking statement has been made, indeed, that autocracy's end having been decreed by a world capable of executing its decree, the real war is now between democracy and socialism: between the liberty that holds license in check and the license that debauches and destroys liberty.

The Russian socialists stand for the abolition of private property. They are now actually trying to establish a government based upon that fundamental doctrine. Probably they will not have their way, or if they do, they will fail in the end because of the weaknesses in human nature of which idealists do not take account. Socialism is taking new and alarming turns in England, so alarming as to pacifism that the government is forced to curb some of its own tendencies toward socialistic practices. Socialism in Germany is steadily gaining strength against the militarist element. The recent mutinous outbreaks in the German navy are officially ascribed to socialist inspiration and encouragement, although it is probable that the hard life and poor food of the conscripted seamen in the grand fleet were the primary causes.

After the downfall of autocracy operating under the fraudulent authority of divine right, after nations struggle away from despots and find themselves free to establish any government they prefer, democracy as Americans know it may find itself facing a peculiarly dangerous foe. Socialism is a greater sapper of democracy than of autocracy in many ways. It takes on the garb of democracy to ambush democracy. During this war socialism has gained at the expense of both autocracy and democracy. Both systems have found themselves compelled to socialize or communize certain activities. It is not socialism that has been adopted, but an appearance of socialism, really created and directed by a force the antithesis of socialism; an autocratic force concentrated in a military group, a cabinet, or a kaiser. Nevertheless, socialists take the appearance for the substance, and are rejoicing at what they believe to be the marvelous permanent growth of their doctrine.

So many services and activities have been taken over by governments during this war, to the exclusion of private enterprise and private monopoly, that the world has been advanced by at least a century in the way of experimental social service legislation. Whether these devices of wartime necessity will prove desirable in peace times remains to be determined by each nation according to its own conditions and desires. A wealth of information is provided for every nation in the experiences of its neighbors. Undoubtedly much that is good will be retained; the question may be whether the bad can be eliminated without revolution and another war.

Steady hands and sober heads must apply themselves to the task of maintaining equal, just, universal and safe liberty in the United States after this war is over. As matters are going, it is almost a certainty that a false liberty will deceive huge numbers of citizens, inducing them to let go of the ancient safeguards for the sake of a glittering fraud masquerading as true liberty.

Every American owes it to his country to study well its landmarks of liberty, to stand by them in storm and sunshine, and not suffer them to be removed.

*Wednesday, October 24, 1917*

### Need of an Allied War Council

**N**EXT in importance to the delivery of America's strength in Europe is the order of its delivery. The shipping problem, in all its bearings, is all important, and upon its solution depends America's success and probably the fate of civilization. Assuming that the problem will be solved correctly and betimes, so that America will not be cut off from Europe, the next task to be accomplished is the organization of the system of supply so that the allies shall defeat Germany decisively and in the shortest possible time.

At present no organization of the allies exists whereby the needs of the armies at the front are met by the resources of America according to the order of urgency or in pursuance of the general military plans. There is no war council. Every member of the coalition comes to America and presents its demands, quite independently of the others, and without regard to the needs of the others. Italy asks for coal, and so does France. Britain wants steel, and so does France. An acute shortage of wheat exists in France, and also in Italy.

Without any exact knowledge of the situation, the war industries board tries to meet the demands of the allies for war supplies, and when there is not enough at the moment they arbitrarily scale down the requisitions, not knowing whether their adjustments meet actual conditions or whether they are condemning tens of thousands of soldiers to ammunition shortage or entire cities to a food famine.

Mr. Lloyd George remarks that the forthcoming interallied conference at Paris will be the most important ever held, and that it will determine the ultimate issue of the war. He spoke of the appearance of American and Russian delegates at the conference.

If this conference does not provide for a better system of harmonizing supply and demand according to the general military plans of the entire alliance against Germany, it will fail in its duty and will not be able to determine the ultimate issue of the war. The first duty now is to concentrate the allied strength; to transform scattered resources into military power, and then to drive that power forward at the point desired.

The enemy has a war council. His scattered resources were long ago transformed into military power. His allies work in perfect



harmony. Each is dealt with according to the general plan, which takes into account their resources and their needs. The grand military plan, the plan to defeat the allies, is not a mere burning desire, but a worked-out scheme formulated by men in close consultation, with power to enforce their orders. The war council meets whenever and wherever it pleases, and it changes the grand plan in any part according to the needs of the hour.

Until the allies have such a council, or something approaching it, they need not expect to obtain such coöperation among themselves as will defeat the Teutons. Miracles of valor may be performed, and man for man the allied armies may outclass the enemy in every respect, and yet the war may be lost behind the battle fronts through lack of coöperation. The war must be fought as a whole at the same time. That is, the ships must be on hand to transport men and supplies; the allies must work together; each army must be on hand; the food must be there; the munitions must be at the front; the navies must coöperate; the finances must be looked after. It will not do to have nearly everything ready in 1918 and then lose because something essential could not be made ready until 1919, six months after Germany had won the war.

The allies at their conference should not merely discuss the ultimate purpose, but the present methods. They should provide for the establishment of a war council, or its equivalent, to have charge of the work of mapping out a plan to defeat Germany, and with authority to commit the allied governments to the execution of the plan. Every allied government should be represented in the conference that creates this war council.

*Saturday, October 27, 1917*

### Why the War May Be Prolonged

SO FAR as a general view of the horizon extends from Washington, all is going well with and for America. The success of the liberty loan and the assurance that redoubled efforts will be made to assist Admiral Capps in the all-important work of creating a merchant fleet are the outstanding features of the day's news.

Mr. Lloyd George said a day or two ago that he had scanned the horizon from London and found the signs favorable to the allies. He did not see an early end of the war. Nor is any sign visible from Washington which might indicate the war's end. But the tendency toward ultimate victory is plainly visible in the transformation of this continent into a war camp.

Face to face, trained and stripped, the superiority of the United States over Germany would be such as to arouse feelings of pity and contempt for the Teuton in trying to face America in battle.

The task is to bring the two gladiators face to face, trained and stripped. The United States must accomplish in a few months what Germany has taken 40 years to accomplish; that is, to train and strip ready for the finish fight. It is extremely difficult to bring the enemies face to face, to say nothing of bringing the United States into the contest properly trained. The fight must take place a long way from America, and America must do all the hauling, with the enemy waylaying every ship.

But who doubts the outcome? Compare American with German, intellect, energy, organizing ability, resources, devotion, patriotism and incentive to victory. Are Americans lacking? Is their cause worth fighting for? Are they able to assemble and organize their strength?

These questions answer themselves to the satisfaction of Americans. But there are other questions upon which Americans do not agree in their answers. Is Germany inherently sound and able to continue the war? Do Germans believe their cause is just? Are they devoted to their government and their rulers? Are they able to get sufficient food? Can Germany hold its allies in line? Does Germany, fighting on the edge of her own territories, enjoy a strategical advantage over the United States which may prolong the war for a long time?

The answers to these questions by Americans carry the impression, as a rule, that the enemy is not fully understood and is underestimated. The average American seems to cherish the conviction that the war will end soon, somehow, with easy victory. The idea that the United States will transform itself into a steel-clad Hercules, using every resource from Maine to California for the sole purpose of beating down a terrible antagonist; that peace habits and private matters must be thrust aside by practically every man in the country; that all incomes shall go straight into the Treasury and all muscle into war work—this is a strange idea, rejected by most Americans.

In spite of all that has been said so eloquently by liberty loan speakers, very few Americans seem to understand the grim fact that they have entered upon a new phase of their lives, in which they must be ready to give all, including life itself, to insure the safety and liberty of the country and their own flesh and blood.

It is not the outcome of the final decisive struggle between the United States and Germany that is in doubt—that cannot be doubtful while Americans constitute a free nation. It is the length of the war that is in doubt, caused by the inability of the average intellect to appreciate the fact that the war marks a crisis in the life of every man, woman and child in the United States. When the average man in America begins to feel the reality of the war as sharply as the average man in Germany feels it, America's tremendous force will exert itself and the end of the war will be in sight.



*Tuesday, October 30, 1917*

## Italy's Fight Our Fight

ITALY is staggering under the shock of a tremendous Teuton assault, which represents a force in some respects more formidable than that which shattered itself against ever-glorious Verdun. In addition to the entire Austrian army, at least 700,000 Germans are massed against Italy, besides divisions of Bulgarians and Turks.

Italy could have withstood this thrust and remained on recovered territory if she had been well supplied with ammunition and war materials. Lacking in ammunition, her armies were compelled to fall back. Unfortunately, a small portion of the army lost its head and the general staff disclosed the fact, thereby giving an excuse for an assertion by enemies that the Italian soldiers would not face first-class fighting men. This assertion is disproved by the heroic achievements of the Italian armies from the moment the war began. It is belied by the history of Italy.

The allies, including the United States, share in the reverse that now threatens Italy. They could have done more for Italy, which asked for nothing that was not reasonable.

Germany is striking down one after another every enemy that can be caught unprepared and detached from its allies. By corrupting the corruptible and misleading the gullible, Germany's propaganda prepares the ground for savage military attacks. That is what is going on now in Italy. The allies of Italy are just as vitally concerned as though the soil of Italy were their own soil. They cannot escape the effects of the campaign on the Italo-Austrian border.

The theory that regards Germany as an enemy only on the western front is nothing but madness. The western front is only an accident of the collision between huge enemy forces. Germany is the enemy of the United States everywhere in the world, if she is an enemy on the western front. If she can gain victories elsewhere which make the western front untenable or unimportant she will do so. The American troops in the trenches may find themselves more remote from the critical point of collision than if they were in California. The war may be won and lost without any action whatever by American forces on the western front.

The allies that are trying to hold the Huns back are defending the hearthstones of America. Why is not this fact more clearly under-

stood by the American authorities? Why is there such persistence upon transferring American troops and immense stores of supplies for American troops occupying unimportant places, when armies actually fighting the Teutons are forced to retire for lack of supplies? Is it supposed that the enemy must conform to the wishes of the allies? Must he agree to abandon an opportunity to win the war elsewhere and stand patiently waiting on the western front in order that the allies, all in their own good time, may hurl themselves at him from a point they have chosen?

A reverse to Italy is a reverse to America. A shortage of munitions and coal in Italy, if it can be prevented by the United States, is a military blunder beyond pardon. England and France also are dependent upon Italy as it is dependent upon them. Italy's collapse would mean instantaneous peril to the British empire in Egypt and India, as well as peril to France because of a threatened invasion from Piedmont. The British and French fleets would find the Mediterranean hard to hold if the Adriatic should be opened to U-boats.

From every possible point of view it is the evident duty of all the allies to aid Italy to the limit of their abilities, instantly and without red tape.

*Wednesday, October 31, 1917*

### Allies Must Have Better Teamwork

EVIDENTLY the first duty of the allies is to secure better coöperation. The repetition of blunders at this stage of the war prolongs the struggle and increases the blood and money cost. The allies cannot expect to win the war if they fail to organize for victory. Their resources are vastly superior to the enemy's. They have right on their side. They have the advantage of ocean commerce, which helps to pay the cost of the war. But without organization and more efficient teamwork they will not succeed in defeating the Teutons.

If the interallied conference to begin at Paris November 15 does not take into consideration the close coöperation between the United States and the allies, for the purpose of installing a system for the most prompt delivery and effective use of America's resources, it will be blind to the future and deaf to the cry that goes up from every battle front.

Secretary McAdoo, on President Wilson's approval, asked the allies last July to organize a system in Europe whereby requisitions upon the United States might be considered, harmonized and adapted to the greatest needs of the allies, both as to destination and as to order of delivery. The allies have not done this, although their representatives in the United States have urgently requested such action. Lord Northcliffe in his interview in *The Post* of yesterday referred to this lack of teamwork. "As to the general situation in regard to the wise utilization by the allies of the vast resources of the United States," said Lord Northcliffe, "I am anxious lest careless and indiscriminate demands may not result in the tragedy of their efficiency being reduced 50 per cent by waste and overlapping."

The allies cannot reduce their efficiency 50 per cent and win the war. They must increase their efficiency in order to win. They must not continue the scramble for American supplies and American money as they have been doing. Their needs must be carefully considered by a joint commission or other authority before they are presented to the United States government. The United States, being compelled to act upon the allies' demands without sufficient information, has made mistakes which have injured the allies and benefited the enemy. Undoubtedly the Italian situation would not have been so bad if a



#### ALLIES MUST HAVE BETTER TEAMWORK

joint allied commission had presented to the United States six months ago the minimum requirements of Italy to maintain its position.

No ally can hope to reap any benefit by securing more than its share of supplies at the expense of other members of the coalition. By doing so it invites such a disaster as that which has overtaken Italy—a disaster that is as truly a setback to France and Great Britain as it is to Italy.

It will be the duty of the American representatives at the Paris conferences to speak plainly. They should impress upon the allies the folly of failure to systematize the production and delivery of supplies, whether money, munitions or food. America cannot accomplish this work without the help of an allied organization with power to scale down and correlate the needs of one ally with the needs of all the others. America is sending mountains of supplies for its own green soldiers in France, and is hurrying over men who are not needed at this particular time, while the French army is short of supplies and the Italian army crumples for the same reason. "The Americans are confused as to what the allies really do want," says Lord Northcliffe. He ought to know, as he is the buyer for one of the allies. His opinion on this subject deserves the close attention of the delegates to the Paris conference.

There must be better teamwork among the allies. Superior numbers and resources mean nothing unless they are consolidated and used effectively.

*Friday, November 2, 1917*

## Two Great Outstanding Facts

**I**TALY'S adversity thrusts forward two bold outstanding facts which the allies and the United States will do well to recognize forthwith.

The first is that the allies have no central directing brain.

The second is that the United States has not yet organized itself sufficiently to develop and deliver the steady stream of military strength which, combined with the allied strength, is required to defeat the enemy.

The lack of unified direction of the allied forces has been manifest ever since the war began. Mistake after mistake has been made, until the time has arrived when the allies cannot afford to make further mistakes. They threw away Bulgaria, permitted Serbia to be slaughtered, failed to protect Roumania, allowed Germany to honeycomb Russia with intrigue, and finally failed to give Italy the support that she asked for six months ago.

It is now imperative that the allies shall consolidate their interests and place the direction of the military operations on all fronts under one central staff. Germany must no longer be permitted to isolate and annihilate the allied nations, one by one. The greater allies, no less than the smaller, are bound to combine in a closer union, for if the smaller allies are all beaten down, the larger allies must eventually face an enemy far stronger than the Teutons are at present.

Every time Germany defeats an enemy nation she enslaves the people of the occupied territory. At this moment Germany has under the lash of slave labor millions of French, Belgians, Poles, Roumanians, Serbians, Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Czechs, Jugo-Slavs, Armenians and Greeks. These unfortunates are working literally under the lash. Male and female, if able-bodied, they are laboring to produce food for the German armies of conquest. Since the war began Germany has added immense territories, which with the population attached have become cheap sources of food supply.

Every soldier belonging to the Teuton alliance—German, Austrian, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turk—is under the direction of Hindenburg and Ludendorff. No field marshal or general or prince-

ling of any empire or kingdom can interfere with the orders of the men who are directing the German campaigns.

On the allied side, no field marshal or general can execute any plan of campaign without danger of constant interference from above and below, to say nothing of the interference of the enemy. The allied nations exchange fine compliments, but they do not unreservedly act in concert. Every cabinet in the allied governments knows that this statement is literally true. The Washington Post does not make this statement idly, or for the sake of alarming unofficial readers. It possesses facts which are known to all the governments, and which therefore need not be published. In view of these facts, and speaking in behalf of the public that is not in possession of the facts, The Post urges the great allies to take instant order for the better consolidation and direction of their efforts.

As to the lack of thorough organization in the United States, we believe it has become apparent, through Italy's reverse, that the Teutons are stronger than Americans have supposed; that the task of defeating Germany is greater than the average American has had in mind, and that the resources of the United States for war purposes must be developed beyond the plans thus far formulated. There must be at least 500,000 men put to work building ships, and they must work as reliably as soldiers stand guard in the trenches. There must be no more uncertainty in this respect. If the workers cannot be depended upon to work without wage agitations and sudden wholesale quitting, then there must be conscription of men for work as there has been conscription of men for fighting. They must get into uniform and go under military discipline, with the military penalty for desertion or mutiny.

This proposition is novel and offensive to Americans. But it is the dire alternative that looms directly ahead. The ships must be built. The soldiers must be supplied. The war must be won. If Americans behind the lines will not serve as volunteers in the army of workers, they must be drafted. This means all able-bodied men, without regard to present occupation.



*Wednesday, November 14, 1917*

### Finally Getting Together

**A**FTER 40 months of war, in which they have permitted the enemy to administer death blows to four nations and staggering strokes to three others, the allies are concentrating their best intellects upon the problem of winning the war. That which should have been done months ago as a matter of military advantage is now to be undertaken as a matter of dire necessity for self-preservation.

The allied nations that are not disabled are to concentrate their energies and act as one against the enemy.

Neither Mr. Lloyd George nor President Wilson wastes any tears over spilt milk, but each makes it unmistakably clear that the allies dare not make any more prime blunders, such as those which cost the life of Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania, disemboweled Russia, and sent Italy reeling backward.

Mr. Lloyd George speaks of the haste with which Great Britain and France were compelled to rush to the aid of Italy, without having time to consult the United States or Russia. It was because Great Britain and France were just as much in danger as Italy that the two great allies were spurred to action that should have been taken long ago.

President Wilson refers to Germany's steady progress in the formation of a gigantic middle European empire—a process that has been mightily aided by the failure of the allies to act in concert. Continued failure will mean the accomplishment of German aims.

The civilized world now faces the naked alternative of composing its differences or passing under the German yoke. The British empire, the French republic, the United States of America and the others are unable singly to check the formation of the greater German empire. Once formed, that empire will easily destroy any or all of these nations unless they immediately combine and act as one.

The civilized nations must throw away envy and suspicion. They must cast their resources into a common pool. They must line up their armies under a single command. This command must have absolute military control, on every battle front, and it must have both the ability and the power to make and execute new plans without notice.

Germany is lying in wait and pouncing upon and destroying one enemy nation after another. The allies have seen this fatal process working since the German hordes first burst into Belgium. It was an incredible thing, a monstrous and blasphemous affront to heaven itself—but it was a fact. Now, after 40 months spent in incredulous wonderment and pitifully improvised defense, civilization is waking to its danger.

There is much to be done. It can be done, and it will be done because it must be done. The allies must and will lay aside their differences. They must and will combine their strength and place it under a single directing head. The United States, suspicious of "European entanglements," must and will agree never to make separate peace with the enemy of civilization.

Every able-bodied man and woman in the United States must be enrolled for service. Germany enrolled her men and women long ago.

The worker in a war industry is as truly a fighting man as the soldier at the front. He must get into the uniform and obey his superior officers.

*Tuesday, November 20, 1917*

## Organization, Allied and Domestic

TWO great tasks evidently must be accomplished before the nations fighting Germany can expect to win the war. One is the creation of a supreme war council with power to direct the strategy of the war. The other is the organization of the human and material resources of the United States.

The allied nations are fumbling with the question of a supreme council. The British public is apprehensive, fearing that the granting of large powers to a council will tie the hands of the British government or interfere with British military or naval operations. No doubt the American public will be apprehensive, also, when it comes face to face with the proposition that an allied council shall control the fate of the American armies in Europe.

Apprehension or no apprehension, the supreme council will be created. The allies will hang together or be defeated separately. They must soon take their choice.

There is no basis for the fear that the allied governments will have their hands tied by the supreme war council. The governments will name the delegates to the council. They are the creators, and they can uncreate. It is idle to suppose that the war council will take over all the powers of government. The council should be confined strictly to the duty of directing the strategy of the allied forces. Commanders in the field and at sea would still be the active directors of all battle tactics. But instead of fighting possibly at cross purposes, they would fight in pursuance of general plans looking to definite results.

A supreme war council is so logical, so necessary to success, and so indispensable a shield against disaster that it will surely come into existence. If not immediately, then later, after the allies have suffered further unnecessary reverses.

As for domestic organization, it is coming, too. The tightening of the lines is shown in the President's proclamation regarding enemy aliens. This proclamation should have been issued in April, but it is better now than never. Enemy aliens should have been excluded from the District of Columbia from the date of the declaration of war. They have gained much valuable information which is now in the hands of the German general staff.



The Washington Post last April urged the exclusion of enemy aliens from the District of Columbia. It now suggests that the United States lose no time in declaring a state of war with Austria-Hungary, to be followed by the internment of Austrian and Hungarian enemies. The Post further suggests that the government exclude all enemy aliens from all ports and harbors of the United States. All aliens who become public charges because of this order should be interned and fed at the expense of the government, which can collect its bill from Germany and Austria after the war.

The allies cannot win without the financial and material help of the United States, delivered most effectively. Italy must be included as an ally. It is futile now to speak of the help that should have been given to Italy last spring and summer, when she pleaded for steel from Pennsylvania and coal from Hampton Roads and was denied. The resources of this country must be organized on a war basis. Men must get coal out of the ground in immensely greater quantities than at present, and the steel mills must turn out more steel. The railroads are mishandled because of the lack of a single directing brain. A director of transportation must be appointed, to be at the President's elbow and in close coöperation with the President's other aids having charge of food, fuel, the army, the navy, the air fleet, and other war activities.

Strong, young, confident and opulent as the United States is, with resources of stupendous potential strength, this nation cannot expect to defeat the scientific German power until these resources are organized for warfare. The most stubborn obstacle to overcome is the inability of many Americans to understand that it is unsafe to cling to the methods that prevailed during peace. They are trying to make this war a side issue, and to that extent they are unconsciously assisting Germany.

*Wednesday, November 21, 1917*

### The Truth as an Aid of the Allies

**F**RANCE, under the lion-hearted Clemenceau, abolishes the censorship and squares away for another campaign against the enemy. May it be victorious!

What is a censorship but suppression of the truth? What is the reason that compels the allies to create a general war council? It is lack of information. If the allies had been fully informed concerning Italy the enemy would not have broken through.

Under censorship suspicion thrives, dissension develops and failure results. Ignorance of what our allies are doing is fully as dangerous as ignorance of what the enemy is doing. There should be no ignorance in either case. The full light of truth should illuminate the war. All that need be suppressed is information regarding military movements and plans.

The French censorship went to ridiculous extremes, not only imposing a tax upon the French government and impairing the moral courage of the French people and army, but encouraging the growth of Boloism. The people, kept in ignorance, believed the worst. The army, kept in ignorance, fought literally in the dark. The enemy, secure against exposure, diligently made the most of the advantage given him by the censorship.

Premier Clemenceau sweeps this all away. He is on the trail of the traitors, neutral conspirators, and enemy spies who have infested France and its borders. He gives the press the opportunity to enlighten the French people and the French army. Immediately there is marked recovery of spirit and renewed determination to win.

The British censorship remains entirely too strict. It conceals facts which would be of great value to all the allies and correspondingly damaging to Germany. Some of the strongest men in England denounce the censorship as "stupid." It is not for Americans to make offensive criticism, but frank speaking is certainly timely, in view of the fact that the British censorship directly affects America's knowledge of its own share in the war.

As for the American censorship, it is damaging only so far as it is effective. There is a careful concealment of facts which are perfectly well known in Germany. One example is the strict silence enjoined

regarding the extensive aviation preparations by the United States in southern France. It would encourage Americans to know that thousands of keen young Americans are training there and showing wonderful ability in actual battle conditions. But hardly a word has been published in this country concerning this work, although the German newspapers discuss fully the size and scope of the American aviation developments in France. Where is the advantage in keeping Americans in ignorance?

It now appears that the United States navy has accomplished glorious deeds in fighting submarines. Why are not the facts published? Why are the names of American heroes concealed? Is Germany dealt a blow by keeping the American people in the dark regarding the achievements of their boys at the front? That is a poor method of stimulating patriotism.

One frank, truthful, unelaborated statement of American heroism at sea or at the front, giving names, would be worth a ton of hysterical falsetto appeals to the fears of Americans. The people of this country are not to be scared into patriotic acts, but they can be thrilled into them with magic quickness by the recital of a single act of heroism under the Stars and Stripes.

Mr. Lloyd George is letting the truth reach the light in England. His ten words announcing the destruction of five submarines were worth more than the remainder of his speech. Clemenceau is chasing away the gloom in France by letting the truth be published broadcast. The United States government should make it a settled policy to give the public the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.



*Thursday, November 22, 1917*

### A Great Allied Weapon—Truth

THE civilized world rejoices this morning in the staggering blow administered to Germany by Field Marshal Haig and the gallant British army. Man for man, the Britishers are mastering the Germans and forcing them out of France and Belgium. That fact overshadows every other military fact connected with this war. It is the shadow of the coming great event—the smashing of the German power. All praise to the British generals, officers and men, and special honor to Gen. Byng!

But what did Mr. Lloyd George mean when he said this in his speech in the House of Commons:

“Policy and strategy are inextricably interwoven. Let them work together. The men who are trying to separate them, to divide them and foster disunion, are traitors to their country.”

And what the application of Mr. George’s further statement that all talk of easterners and westerners was “utter balderdash”? He continued:

“The field is north, south, east and west, and our business is to bring pressure upon the enemy from every point of the compass and inflict hurt upon him wherever we can.”

As we see it, the premier of Great Britain makes the point that Germany is the enemy of the allies everywhere, and not merely on the western front. He means that the allies should fight Germany everywhere with policy as well as with strategy—with brains as well as with bullets. He expresses in one way what Lord Northcliffe expressed in another when he insisted that the allies were making a mistake in not carrying on a strong propaganda in Russia, Italy and elsewhere to counteract German propaganda.

Why should the allies permit Germany to disable an entire nation with falsehoods, when equally vigorous propaganda of the truth would save that nation? Why should Russia be bamboozled by Germany while the allied nations look on helplessly? Have they no truth with which to offset Germany’s lies? Is not the right on their side? Are they afraid to tell the truth? Are they lacking in the ability or means required to organize and maintain a propaganda?

Elihu Root and his colleagues went to Russia, and so far as their voices reached they did splendid work. But their voices were like

the wail of an infant against the roar of an ocean gale. For every word of truth uttered by the Americans, German agents circulated a thousand lies. Russians who had been in the United States were bribed by Germans to follow Mr. Root's party and utter falsehoods concerning the United States and its war aims.

If the allied governments had organized a truth propaganda in Russia, reaching every community, Russia would now be a dangerous foe of Germany, and the British victory would have double significance. Italy would not now be overrun if the truth had been circulated in Russia.

When will the great allies recognize the simple but important fact that truth is a wonderful weapon, a terrible weapon, when vigorously used? When will they have intelligence enough to seize upon the hint given by their enemy? If Germany can work such marvels with nothing better than falsehoods, what cannot the allies accomplish with the truth? If Germany has spent millions on Russian propaganda, the allies would do well to spend tens of millions. The reclamation of Russia, the restoration of the sanity of that great nation, would be cheap at \$100,000,000.

There seems to be a feeling in allied nations that the word "propaganda" is unclean. German propaganda is unclean, it is true, but a propaganda of truth is as just and honorable and necessary as the sending of an army to France. The army goes to carry the truth; to cause right to prevail over wrong. The same mission should be undertaken by allied propagandists in Russia, Italy, Turkey and Mexico, to say nothing of other countries.

Without any apology whatever, the allied governments should allot \$100,000,000 or more to an active propaganda. Let them use the truth, that marvelous weapon that strikes down tyrants and scatters armies like chaff.

*Sunday, November 25, 1917*

## Let Heroic Acts Be Rewarded

LIEUT. GEN. BYNG won a victory over the Germans near Cambrai early last week, and two days later the British government promoted him to the full grade of general.

Two American lieutenant commanders in command of destroyers recently displayed exceptional bravery and skill in battling submarines. These officers and several members of their crews were highly praised by the British government, which offered to confer decorations upon them.

The Navy Department did not make any mention of the bravery of its naval officers and enlisted men until the facts were disclosed in Great Britain. There is no suggestion that the Americans will be promoted or rewarded by their government. The decorations conferred by Great Britain cannot be accepted without the consent of Congress.

Apparently it is the policy of the War and Navy departments to withhold the names of Americans performing feats of heroism in this war. With the exception of the list headed by Lieut. Comdrs. Blakely and Neal (all honor to them!) no names have been mentioned except those included in the casualty lists.

So far as the public is informed, there will be no promotion of the officers and men of the United States navy who destroyed German submarines; or if promotion should come, it will be long delayed, and apparently granted reluctantly.

The theory governing this action seems to be that the mention of names would reveal military secrets.

The men directing the military and naval policy of the United States are conscientious, and no criticism should be made of any well-planned rule on their part which will guard military secrets. But if it is to be their rule that acts of heroism shall be concealed, that heroic Americans shall not receive public acknowledgment of their achievements and prompt promotion and other rewards, then we believe that the public will enter a vigorous and effective protest.

The publication of the names of American heroes on land and sea cannot by any stretch of caution be proved injudicious. There is no revelation of military secrets in publishing names and conferring



rewards. On the contrary, there is a direct military benefit in encouraging the spirit of daring and emulation of heroic deeds. The love of praise, the spirit of rivalry in honorable achievement, and the desire for advancement are all the breath of life to a soldier. Today, as always, the true soldier "seeks the bubble reputation even at the cannon's mouth."

With a few exceptions, the United States has not been prompt and liberal in rewarding its heroic defenders. Great Britain pursues a better policy, and never encounters any objections from the people when it rewards ability and heroism. The granting of medals in the United States is so slow that the inspiration to men in the army and navy is lost. Splendid deeds that deserve singular rewards are classed with minor feats of valor, and usually both classes fail to receive recognition.

The war will not be won by cultivating pessimism and despondency. There is no occasion for the concealment of heroism. Let heroic deeds be published, and let daring Americans be quickly and liberally rewarded.

*Wednesday, November 28, 1917*

### Why and How Germany Will Lose

AS SOON as Germany has made a little further progress it is to be expected that she will make a determined effort to obtain peace. She would like to disable Italy further by taking Venice, and she would prefer to restore Constantine to the Greek throne before asking the enemy for an armistice. But these are matters that can wait, if necessary. An armistice, to be followed by peace negotiations, is becoming more important to Germany than any single military move.

Germany occupies immense areas of enemy territory. She can afford to make peace on the basis of liberal concessions. She cannot afford to make her war indefinitely, with an enemy of superior strength about to take the field. Russia's collapse aids Germany in the way of relief, but it does not restore life to dead men or increase the capacity of German war industries. Germany faces a struggle with an enemy that can outbuild, outgun, outfly, and outspend her; an enemy that is free to combine on land and sea with the enemies already in the field; an enemy that cannot be kept off the seas. There is no increase of German strength to offset this increase of enemy power.

As the power of Germany's enemies increases through activity in America and the concentration of effort in the allied command, Germany's power diminishes by such costly excursions as the drive into Italy. Germany has lost many thousand men, and stands to lose tens of thousands in trying to hold Venetia. Was it a good bargain to gain that territory and lose those men? Germany thought so, for the sake of holding Austria in line. But Germany did not count upon the steady and perhaps ruinous loss that will result from trying to hold what she has taken. Italy has not disintegrated, as Germany hoped. The allies have not deserted Italy, as Germany hoped. On the contrary, the allied forces are organizing to stop all drives toward Venice and then to expel the Teuton from Italy. The Teutons have superior man power on that front at present, and hence they may take Venice, but the tables will turn as Italy and the allies pour in their forces. Germany will then be compelled to fight on the defensive, as in France, trying to cling to enemy territory and paying for the privilege by sacrificing her own men.

It is a losing game. The one flaw in Germany's scheme of conquest is the human wastage. This cannot be checked or replaced in time to achieve victory. The allies have greater resources and are so organizing them that they will be practically as effective as Germany's. Much remains to be done, but the will behind the deed is fixed, which is the principal part of the task. Great Britain, France, Italy and America have clasped hands and resolved to fight to the death in defeating Germany. Their resources are being pooled and their efforts are being united. The end, therefore, is inevitable, although the time of the end is uncertain.

Many Americans fondly cling to the notion that Germany will offer genuine and just peace by next spring out of fear of defeat by the United States. They feel sure that American war preparations are striking terror to the heart of Germany, and that, rather than face us, Germany will surrender. This would be a pleasant prospect if it were true, but there is nothing to show that it is true. The course of the war thus far compels the United States to assume that Germany will come to terms only when she is actually overpowered. Words, threats, possibilities, potentialities are nothing; actualities are everything. The United States and the other allies cannot count upon victory until their resources are organized and their actual physical fighting strength has been matched against Germany's and been found superior.

Every hour lost in America by indulging in day-dreams of an easy early peace through German disorganization or recognition of inferiority is an hour that could be used to hasten victory. Every presumption that the war will end this winter or by next spring has a tendency to curtail adequate action and is therefore a mistake. Every minute wasted in listening to fraudulent peace overtures from Germany is a postponement of victory.

Victory reposes in American genius and American muscle, American machinery and American resources. Victory will be achieved, not by juggling with words or indulging in dreams, but by organizing the war strength of the United States and using it as a sledgehammer with which to smash the enemy.



*Thursday, November 29, 1917*

### The Allies' Duty Toward Russia

**T**RAITORS to Russia have been sent by the traitorous gang now in temporary control at Petrograd to negotiate for an armistice with the Germans. Inquiries from the Russians elicited the statement from the German commanders that Germany was willing to negotiate for an armistice with all belligerents, whereupon an arrangement was made for conferences between the bolsheviki delegates and the German commanders, to begin December 2.

In the meantime the would-be betrayers of Russia must reckon with the cossacks. Gen. Kaledine, chief of the Don cossacks, is in a position to control the bulk of the food supply. He can starve several of the armies on the western Russian front, if not all of them. These armies are more or less demoralized by German intrigue. They are unreliable, but fortunately they are unable to do much damage because of lack of supplies. They could surrender en masse to Germany, but the Germans do not want them—their appetites are too large.

The allied nations now represented in conference at Paris cannot fail to act promptly in the Russian crisis. They cannot fail to extend assistance to the element in Russia that is trying to restore the nation to sanity and preserve its independence. One of the immediate problems is that of delivering supplies from the United States. Necessarily these deliveries have been held up on account of the danger of aiding a treacherous element which in turn might give American supplies to Germany. Yet it is not to be supposed that the United States will fail to assist Russia toward secure independence. The supplies must go forward and reach the right parties; the German influence must be offset by the influence of freedom; by spiritual and material assistance the United States must stand by Russia in the hour of her peril.

The allies are equally concerned in supporting Russia. It is the part of foolishness now to dismiss the Russian situation by wholesale condemnation of the Russian people. Russia's heart is right. Human nature is not changed by the collapse of order in Russia. The people do not thirst for bondage to Germany. They are not trying to deceive or betray the allies. Concede that the Russian armies are honeycombed with socialistic fallacies and poisoned with German propaganda; at worst the soldiers are deluded, not depraved. Why

not help them to get right, rather than convict them of willful treachery to their own liberties? It is lack of truth that afflicts them; fault of information.

The conference at Paris ought to be concerned in organizing a gigantic propaganda in Russia, reaching every man in that immense country. It can be done in a fairly short time and with perfect success. It need not be feared that Russia will be committed to Germany before efforts to reclaim the Russians could prove effective. Russia will be in turmoil for years, in all probability; and so long as there is anarchy, Germany will profit and the allies will suffer. The people of Russia are not bolsheviki; less than 10 per cent. of them are represented by the bolsheviki. While the bolsheviki are endeavoring to ruin their country by ignorance and treason, the liberty-loving people of Russia are trying to establish a settled free government.

The allied nations have a plain duty to perform. They must help Russia. They cannot safely neglect Russia, and they are morally bound to help her. Their interest and their honor coincide in pointing the way.

*Saturday, December 1, 1917*

## No Peace with the Assassin

IT IS NOT surprising that a craven note in favor of dishonorable peace has been struck in Great Britain by a man who knows better. Similar pacifism has been voiced in this country by United States senators and others who know better. These mischievous utterances are to be expected from time to time, and a certain portion of the people will be misled by them. Nevertheless, the civilized nations of the world will not be misled, nor will their efforts to rescue civilization be retarded by cowardly pleas for compromise with the world's outlaw.

Lord Lansdowne has either suffered impairment of intelligence through lapse of time, or he speaks with deliberate intent to vex and obstruct the allied governments when he suggests a compromise with Germany which would leave its military power intact. It is more charitable to assume that the weight of years has affected Lord Lansdowne's judgment than it is to suggest that he seeks to impair his native country's effectiveness in fighting for survival. The latter suggestion is so abhorrent, so contrary to the pure impulse of a natural man, that it could only be made by an enemy of the personage mentioned.

It would be futile to discuss the Lansdowne letter with a view to clarifying opinion in England, and fortunately no such effort is necessary. England stands like a rock for self-preservation. She will not compromise with the assassin of nations. She has resolved that the war shall go on until either the German or the British empire is disabled and beaten, and civilization has proudly stepped to the side of England and will see her through to the end.

For the benefit of Americans who might be misled by Lansdowne's specious argument, it is well to consider it. He suggests that the peace party in Germany would probably be greatly stimulated if it were known that the annihilation of Germany is not sought; that the allies do not seek to impose upon Germans a form of government against their choice; that there is no desire to deny to Germany her place among great commercial nations; that England, after the war, will examine the problems involved in the freedom of the seas; that England will join other nations in agreeing to settle international disputes by peaceful means.



Even if instant peace could be obtained by such a declaration, it would be folly, for the peace would be a mere breathing spell for Germany, enabling her to gather strength for another attack upon civilization. But peace is not attainable, now or later, by such a declaration, for the reason that Germany is the assailant, the would-be murderer of civilization. A statement by the half prostrate victim of a murderer that she does not contemplate the annihilation of her assassin is hardly calculated to stay his hand.

Germany has torn up treaties and all obligations that bind one honorable nation or man to another. Germany has assassinated several nations already and is trying to kill others. Germany intends to murder her way to supreme power in the world. It is a deliberately prepared program in which the shedding of blood is adopted as the means of victory. Civilization cannot make peace with her own murderer.

Lord Lansdowne tries to make it appear that he is in harmony with President Wilson. He quotes something that Mr. Wilson said, which does not bear upon the vital situation of today. For the sake of preventing any error among the allied representatives now assembled in France, as well as for the sake of giving Germany to understand how America stands, we hope President Wilson will repudiate utterly the insulting insinuation of Lansdowne.

*Sunday, December 2, 1917*

## Political Strategy in the War

THE German war heads may fondly imagine that they are shaping the course of this war, but if all the truth were known it would be found that the issue rests in the hands of the men who have gathered at Paris. If they can employ their unquestioned abilities harmoniously, and if their respective governments will approve the agreements reached, an organized force greater than the enemy's will emerge and accomplish its necessary work.

The conferees are working in groups, dealing with distinct branches of the war. Little is given out regarding the problems under consideration, and nothing whatever is divulged regarding the methods required to solve those problems. This is perfectly proper, and the people of the allied nations, whose fate hangs in the balance, are willing to rest in ignorance for the sake of lending greater efficiency to strategic efforts.

Nevertheless the hope is expressed that the allied conference is not confining itself to military, naval, financial and economic strategy. There is a field occupied by Germany and worked with consummate energy and skill—the field of political strategy. The allies have almost wholly neglected this field. They grossly neglected it in Russia, and now they perceive that traitors and spies are trying, apparently with success, to betray the country to Germany.

The masses in Russia know little or nothing of the size, strength, and purposes of the allied nations. The allies are far off, and their sympathy with true freedom in Russia seems to be a faint whisper if it is heard at all. The Germans, on the other hand, are affecting an open-hearted and generous spirit of conciliation which is deceiving a great proportion of the Russian population. "Why not make peace?" these peasants and soldiers ask themselves. "The Germans offer to meet us half way."

Throughout Central and South America the German propaganda is equally energetic and ingenious. It is active in China, in Mexico, in Canada and in Italy. If German intrigue is permitted to go unchecked in this hemisphere, the solidarity of American republics will be disrupted. It is quite conceivable that the Germans hope to range at least one American republic on their side. If this should be accomplished, the world would witness the spectacle of the United

States going to war against another American republic, in the name of democracy, and in vindication of the Monroe doctrine.

Americans have comforted themselves with the thought that the extinction of the Hapsburg empire in Mexico marked the abandonment by any European power of any ambition to plant imperialism in this hemisphere. Yet Germany is now endeavoring to establish itself in the New World, by acquiring ascendancy over one or more of the governments of existing republics.

The allied conference should take cognizance of the political offensives of Germany, and should devise a complete program of defense and counter attack in both hemispheres. The battle is not altogether with war machinery on land and sea; it is equally desperate and effective with unseen weapons. German propaganda has accomplished feats of enemy disintegration far more valuable to Germany than a succession of military victories. The first preparation for a German military victory, in fact, is a political propaganda such as that which demoralized the Italians.

The allies cannot afford to be defeated in the political field. They must occupy this field, and work it with all their ability. They should start a counter propaganda in Turkey and Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary, with the object of disrupting the central alliance. There should be a vigorous allied propaganda in Italy for the purpose of arming the army and people of that nation with truth and fortitude. In Mexico and South America the allies should spread the truth and the foreknowledge of allied victory. The war is everywhere, in all nations, and it must be fought universally and by all civilized means until victory is achieved.



*Monday, December 3, 1917*

## Congress and the War

THE regular session of the Sixty-fifth Congress will open at noon today with President Wilson as absolutely in control of the war situation as he was during the extra session which closed in October. It requires no powers of prophecy to foresee that Congress will continue to give him hearty support in the conduct of the war. The country is solidly back of the President and nobody realizes it better than the senators and representatives who must go before the people for election next year.

President Wilson will deliver his message tomorrow in person at a joint session of the Senate and House, as has been his custom. What legislation he will then recommend is purely a matter of speculation, since he has not permitted the contents of his address to become known. But two things in this connection are certain: He will not deviate one iota from the policy he has laid down for the conduct of the war; and whatever he proposes to Congress in the way of legislation necessary to the conduct of the war will be granted.

There has been much curiosity here as to whether Mr. Wilson will discuss Lord Lansdowne's peace letter, but that curiosity has remained unsatisfied. However, there is no doubt that, whether or not the Lansdowne letter be referred to, the President will make clear the fact that this government is not ready to entertain any peace proposals which do not carry with them the absolute guarantee of a permanent peace. There is not to be the slightest modification of America's war aims.

Rumors have reached Washington that certain Republican Congressmen are bringing with them a determination to fight the administration's war policy and demand an accounting for the billions of money that have been expended. If this be true, these congressmen may just as well remain away from the Capital until their pugnacious spirits subside, since they will find it impossible to make any headway with a general assault upon the administration at this time. It is very probable that a great majority of the Republicans will see, as they did in the last session, that patriotic duty and political expediency both demand that they give ungrudging support to the administration in its war preparations. And those who take a narrower view will find scanty support.

If the critics confine themselves to a demand for a statement of how the vast sums of money have been expended, it is probable that in a general way their requests will be met, unless such compliance should be considered to be incompatible with the nation's interest at this time. Congress has a right to know how the money is being spent and should be so informed, providing there is no military reason to the contrary. In fact, practically all the criticisms that have been directed against the administration are based upon the disinclination of the President and his advisers to take Congress more intimately into their confidence relative to war measures. A closer working arrangement can easily be effected, with better feeling all around.

This, however, does not furnish an adequate reason for a general assault upon the administration or for carping criticism on the grounds of extravagance. The President is charged with the responsibility of organizing the country for this war and of planning the campaign. The people will demand that all branches of the government aid him in every way possible. They will not tolerate any interference or obstructive tactics. What they demand is that the war work be well done and as quickly as possible. After the war there will be plenty of time for a detailed accounting, when all who have held positions of responsibility may be called upon to give a report of their stewardship.

*Wednesday, December 5, 1917*

### President Wilson's Address

EVERY true American has reason to be profoundly grateful to President Wilson for the scope and spirit of his address to Congress. The address is really to the world, and not merely to Congress. It is the inflexible purpose of this nation, put into words that cannot be distorted or misunderstood. No statement of the war aims of civilization has equaled this crystal-clear summing up of the reasons why the free nations will carry the war to the point where they can impose upon the entire world a peace based upon justice and reparation. The President makes it understood that the United States does not wage war in vindictiveness, but in the moderation of his utterance there is no taint of indecision. His resolution is made more conspicuous by the absence of anger and vituperation.

If the element in Great Britain represented by Lord Lansdowne really desire what the President has outlined, instead of what Lord Lansdowne blunderingly expressed, they will have reason to thank the American executive. If they are pacifists because of faint-heartedness, they will be equally under obligations to the President for the immense comfort and strength of his message to the allies.

The most striking feature of the address is, of course, the recommendation that Congress declare war on Austria-Hungary. President Wilson preferred that public opinion should lead and not follow him in this matter. He now prefers that the people shall first demand war against Bulgaria and Turkey before he recommends such action. Probably it is best that public opinion should be united on such a matter before Congress is called upon to act, but The Washington Post has not the slightest doubt that the United States will soon be compelled to arraign both Bulgaria and Turkey as enemies. In some respects it is to be regretted that the President did not include them in the proposed declaration of war. The Turks and Bulgars in this country should be classed with Germans and Austrians and treated accordingly.

The United States land and naval forces should be just as free to operate against Turks and Bulgars as against Germans and Austrians. Italy is now assailed by Turkish and Bulgarian divisions. The sworn friends of the United States are in a struggle with Turks and Bulgars, the sworn friends of the Hun. It is not that the United



#### PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS

States and Bulgaria or Turkey are likely to come to death grips—that may be classed as a ridiculous conception—but it is because of our allies that the United States should declare war against every one of Germany's allies. This country should not attempt to discriminate between enemies. It should not discriminate between friends. As it would be offensive to treat one ally as if it were partly an enemy, so it is unwise to treat an enemy as if it were partly a friend.

President Wilson does not ask Congress to declare war upon Turkey and Bulgaria, but we hope Congress will do so, and thus expedite the process of making perfectly clear to our people and our enemies just where the great line is to be drawn. We hope the Bulgarian legation in the United States will be shut up and its personnel sent out of the country. The depravity of the German bomb intrigues proves that no subject of the Teutonic alliance can be safely trusted in the United States without registration and surveillance. Bulgars and Turks may be spies of Germany. They should be made amenable to the punishment dealt out to spies. If they do not resort to crime they will be unharmed. If they try to help the enemy, there will then be a remedy.

It is quite evident that President Wilson would welcome a declaration of war against all of Germany's allies. He is willing that public sentiment should manifest itself immediately upon that subject.

*Friday, December 7, 1917*

## The Last Chapter of the Hapsburgs

THE United States is about to declare war on Austria-Hungary. The declaration appears to many Americans as perfunctory. It is nothing of the kind. It is a long step toward the defeat of the German military power. The events growing out of this declaration will change the current of history.

Valuable time is to be lost through the delay in declaring and prosecuting war against Bulgaria and Turkey. Since the President has not asked for war against those states Congress will hardly include them as enemies, although if it should decide to do so there is no doubt that the President would be glad to approve of the resolution.

One field of the war has been practically neglected by the United States and the allies, while vigorously cultivated by Germany. This is the propaganda of ideas. Germany has been forced to spread false ideas, as her attempt to dominate the world is as incompatible with truth as it is with honor. The allies have truth as their available weapon in combating Germany; but they have used the truth sparingly, as if they were afraid of it. In many instances they have even gone to the pains of concealing truth, and preventing it from reaching the brains of their enemies. To that extent they have coöperated with Germany toward their own defeat.

If anything is calculated to make the Austrians and Bulgarians and Turks sick of their bargain with Germany, it is to have the United States declare war against them and then proceed with plans for their destruction.

In the meantime it is the President's purpose to use America's military, naval and aerial energies against Austria as well as against Germany. This new extension of the war will have momentous consequences, probably visible first in Italy, but important also in Spain, and ultimately disastrous to Austria. It means that Italy will be saved; that Spain may become a republic, and that Austria will be broken up.

The American declaration of war means nothing else than the opening of the last scene in the strange eventful history of the Hapsburgs. There still lingers in many American minds the notion that a sudden peace may be patched up, under which all nations will re-

sume their former positions and relations, broadly speaking. To these minds it is incredible that a perfunctory resolution passed by the American Congress will reconstruct the map of central Europe and affect the lives of millions of persons for all future time. But that is what the resolution means, unless the United States is making mental reservations when it declares itself a champion of self-government and democracy. Every day and every hour drive home to Americans the knowledge that there is no mental reservation in this business—that there cannot be any middle ground upon which to pitch a temporary tent of peace.

Control of human beings by a military machine for purposes of conquest must die, or America herself must submit to that control. The Hapsburg empire is an essential element of the German system of conquest. Therefore the Hapsburg empire or the United States of America must quit the earth.



*Saturday, December 8, 1917*

### Massing Against the Teutons

ON THE DAY that Germany and Austria strike their hardest blow at Italy, Italy gains as an ally the strongest nation in the world.

On the day that Austria exults over the armistice with Russia, Austria is confronted by a new enemy who cannot be deceived, disintegrated, or beaten by force of arms.

On the day when Roumania seems to be forsaken and handed over to her slayer, Austria finds that before she can destroy Roumania she must first conquer the United States of America.

The red slayers may think they slay, but they are merely arousing the forces that will insure their own death.

Italy is not to die. Russia is not to pass under the German yoke. Roumania will not make peace with her murderers. Belgium and Serbia are alive in the hearts of the nations that constitute the league of civilization. This league is beginning to assert control over the world. The free peoples of the two hemispheres are banded together for self-preservation. They will rule the world because they must rule it or perish.

As Americans see more clearly the abysmal cleavage between self-government and despotism, they rejoice to see their government unloose the latent forces of this republic. They will be glad when they learn that Congress voted for war against Austria-Hungary and that the President approved of the declaration on the same day. They will be glad when Congress sees fit to declare war on Bulgaria and Turkey.

Every day makes the issue clearer. Every temporary reverse, every misfortune to allied arms, every enterprise by the enemy serves to harden the determination of humanity to strike the final blow for liberty. Compromise is impossible; peace is impossible unless it is the peace of liberty. It is not often that liberty can find its enemy in the open, vulnerable to attack. The enemy of liberty is usually invisible, waging an unseen warfare. Now that he is out where all men can see him, they will not let him escape.

The nations are lining up for Armageddon. In due time the splendid action of Brazil will be followed by declarations from Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Peru, together with the smaller republics

of this hemisphere. The German propaganda shrivels whenever it comes in contact with the spirit of liberty. The New World will be found massed solidly against the Teutons, as Europe and Asia are already massed. No other assumption is tenable, if it be conceded that the spirit of liberty illumines the American republics.

In one respect the allies can make war more effectively than they have been making it, and that is by propaganda in certain countries. Germany has outmaneuvered the allies in this branch of war—for that is what the propaganda is. It is incumbent upon the allies to make the people of Russia acquainted with the war and the issues of the war; to save Mexico from pro-Germanism; to give an antidote to the Italians who have been poisoned by German lies; to support the people of Argentina, who are thwarted by German intrigue; to prevent the Germans in Brazil from making war; to help China, which is harassed by German plotters, and generally to combat the intrigues and conspiracies instigated by Germany throughout the world.

*Sunday, December 9, 1917*

### Loss of the Jacob Jones

THE nation hears with sorrow of the death in icy waters of the gallant officers and men of the destroyer Jacob Jones while on submarine patrol duty. But this sorrow is mitigated by pride in the United States navy and confidence in its officers and men.

If it should prove that Lieut. Comdr. David Worth Bagley has been lost, his name will stand renowned in American annals alongside that of his brother, the first officer lost in the war with Spain. No man can have greater honor, when Providence brings his hour of fate, than to fall in defense of the American flag. A holy memory embalms the names of our defenders and keeps them fragrant forever.

As for the assassins who lurk under the darkness of the waters, and those other assassins of the air who deal out fire and death to women and children, and those field marshals of murder who direct the German system, there is a retribution gathering on the wings of the western wind. The New World is massing its strength. The nations dedicated to liberty and engaged in the pursuit of happiness have not their full equipment of death-dealing weapons. For the time being the armed assassins have the advantage. But it is only while astounded civilization catches its breath.

The clouds above the western horizon must grow blacker and the hurricane must gather its force. Every American done to death becomes an avenging spirit leading the hosts of the nation to victory. The names of our heroes will be shouted in battle. The storm that drives eastward across the Atlantic will bear on its condor wings woe and destruction, panic and death to the assassin. But it will also bear comfort to the nations that have felt the heel of the invader. The united nations of civilization have laid down the ultimatum that Germany shall make reparation for wrongs done. Belgium, Serbia, Poland, Montenegro and Roumania must be restored. The invader must get out of France, Russia and Italy.

Let no American think that the turmoil and the shouting of preparation mean confusion or delay. America is moving with wonderful swiftness in the work of transformation from a peace to a war nation. The imperfections we see and hear are nothing—the spirit is everything. From the hour that America decided in her heart that



she would draw the sword and run it through Germany's vitals, the doom of the German empire has been sealed. All operations following that decision have been transitory and indecisive. Russia's betrayal, Italy's misfortunes, the occasional submarine raids and all other German efforts are nothing but the vain struggles of a monster caught in the toils of inescapable doom.

The hearts of many Americans are becoming hot with impatience, and they would rejoice if the avenging thunders were now reverberating over Germany. But deep down in the heart of this nation, like the bedrock of the Rockies, is the patience of the ages, the fixed purpose that knows neither variableness nor shadow of turning.

It is not with downheartedness that Americans hear of the loss of the Jacob Jones. It is with sorrow for the slain, but also with fierce longing for the hour of retribution.

*Tuesday, December 11, 1917*

### Jerusalem Delivered

THE bells of Christmas will ring out marvelous tidings of great joy this year. Jerusalem has been wrested from the Turk and Christendom once more possesses its holy city. To millions of devout worshippers this triumph is the greatest fact of the war, more heart-stirring than the death or birth of nations. They rejoice in the prospect of early purification of the sacred places which have been polluted by the filthy race that has been a traitor to its own professed religion and a blight to every land it has overrun. The Moslems as well as the Christians have thrown off Turkish rule. The remnant of the Turks who now cling to Constantinople will be thrust out before this war is over.

Evidently the German influence in Turkey is not sufficient to cope with the sturdy British forces that have crept northward from Beersheba toward Dan. Gen. von Falkenhayn is supposed to be trying to reorganize the Turks for a campaign against the British in Palestine and Mesopotamia. In the meantime the British columns have advanced in both fields, and even if the Germans should rally the Turks for another campaign, it will probably be a losing fight. The British flag stays where it is planted.

Many Americans regret that the United States of America has not shared in the glory of rescuing the Holy Land. They regret that a state of war does not exist between the United States and Turkey. They ardently hope that before many days have passed this nation will have placed itself squarely in armed opposition to the Turk, with the resolve that there shall be no peace until the defiler of Christian and Moslem shrines has been overpowered and his victim nations released.

The news of the capture of Jerusalem will go to the corners of the earth. It is of immense moral significance. It will not be good news to the Germans, who defiled the altars of their religion for the sake of a bargain with the Ottomans. While the nations celebrate the redemption of the holy city, what will be the feelings of the German people as they think of their league with the Turk? How can they send up hosannas at Christmas time? When the imperial betrayer of Germany turns his thoughts on Christmas eve to Bethlehem and Jerusalem, some sense of blasphemy must shame his heart

and palsy his tongue. Like that other crowned murderer he may well say, "Amen stuck in my throat!"

### The New Nation

THE free government of Finland asks for recognition from the United States and other nations. Out of the anarchy that covers the vast ruin of the Russian empire emerges this compact, enlightened, homogeneous nation, already habituated to self-government and inspired by ideals of true and not false liberty. The right hand of the United States should be extended at once to Finland.

If other nationalities in the former Russian empire can organize their own governments and successfully detach themselves from the maniacs who are delivering the country to Germany, they should be encouraged to do so.

It is a thousand times better that the Russian territories should be split up into a number of small, homogeneous, independent governments than that the extinct empire should be turned over to Germany.

Siberians are organizing their own government. They are a progressive people on a fruitful soil. Let Finland shake hands with Siberia; let the Caucasus set up a free state; let Poland persevere and await the hour when Germany's mailed fist will be cracked by the mace of civilization, and as state after state arises from the smoking ruins, it may be that not distant years will witness the creation of the United States of Russia, the greatest republic under the firmament.



*Wednesday, December 12, 1917*

## Duty of the Allies in Russia

THE colossal kaleidoscope of Russia turns again, and the remainder of mankind look on in awe and apprehension as the giant figures appear. Is the shapeless and headless mass to organize and become a fixed star? Is it to plunge into chaos, threatening to collide with and demolish ordered governments? Or will Russia disintegrate and become the raw material for the composition of many governments?

Apparently the last mentioned possibility is becoming a probability, as one section after another denounces the Petrograd extremists. Altogether, eleven nations are within the reach of stable organization in Russia. There is enough territory and enough population left over to make a dozen more nations. Some of them may be odd creations, judged from the western point of view, but they are instinct with the spirit of liberty, and do not care particularly what mythological America may think of them, anyhow. They are as indifferent to America as Alabama is to public sentiment in Nijni Novgorod.

Under all the turbulence in Russia is a slow but steady current toward liberty. It is shown in the sporadic declarations of independence of Petrograd. It appears in the efforts of the cossacks and the Siberians, in the struggles at Moscow, in the confusion in Besarabia, in the action of Finland, and in the dwindling power of the bolsheviki leaders. Russians, not having a government, are groping for order, security and liberty.

The question now is whether the great allies will immediately come to the help of Russia, or permit Germany to complete the wreck of that potentially majestic free nation. The German terms of peace, as reported, reveal nothing inconsistent with the remorseless and savage character of German militarism. If Russia will give Germany all her wheat for fifteen years, admit German products free of duty and permit Germany to hold the territory now occupied, Germany will graciously agree to turn her attention to some other victim. This means, if accepted, that Germany will be fed by Russia and furnished with money with which to complete the conquest of the rest of the world. That accomplished, there would be nothing to prevent Germany from taking over the remainder of Russia.

#### DUTY OF THE ALLIES IN RUSSIA

The process of destroying Russia cannot be accomplished in a day, even under such favorable circumstances as those which Germany enjoys. The allies have time in which to interpose a counter campaign. Properly conceived and adequately undertaken, an anti-German campaign in Russia could be made with success. It would be better than a dozen victorious battles, for it would establish to the east of Germany a nation capable of overpowering the Huns in case they should again attack their neighbors.

Now, while there is time, and while the fortune of war is still unrevealed, it is incumbent upon the allies to lift up Russia. The United States alone can do it, if it will. The ingenuity and enterprise of America is equal to the task of stirring the mind and heart of Russia. Once the true spark of liberty is struck, once the people of Russia are enabled to act in orderly fashion for the creation of a provisional government, the establishment of a constitutional free government will follow.

No more fertile field exists in the world for the growth of liberty than the land that stretches from the Arctic to the Black Sea and the Pacific Ocean. The allies have no right to stand idle while Germany sows the seeds of hell and destruction in that enormous portion of the earth. If they should permit Germany to master or permanently disable Russia they would be adding immeasurably to the draining of blood from every allied nation. With Russia as a granary and a recruiting cantonment for Germany the civilized world would not see the certainty of victorious peace for many a year.

*Monday, December 17, 1917*

## The Opportunity of the Allies

THE Germans are having their own way for the time being in Russia, having induced the mob "government" at Petrograd to agree to an armistice paving the way for peace. The terms of the armistice ostensibly bind the Germans not to move their troops from the Russian front to operate against the allies, but this agreement is nothing more than a scrap of paper. Doubtless the traitors who signed the agreement in behalf of Russia are aware that Germany does not intend to forego the opportunity to mass troops on the western front. Probably the stipulation was suggested by Germany, as a cunning device to deceive the allies into placing further reliance on the good faith of the traitors who are betraying Russia.

The Lenine-Trotsky group are not trying to protect the allies of Russia. They deceive no one with their pretensions. They are doing their best to deliver Russia over to her destroyer at the earliest possible moment, in order that the Germans may then be free to attack the western allies.

Apparently the allied nations are doing nothing to stem the current of German intrigue in Russia. No hint has been allowed to go out from Paris concerning any action taken at the allied conference in behalf of Russia. So far as the world knows, the allies have abandoned hope of reclaiming Russia. There seems to be a general opinion, in America at any rate, that Russia has gone too far to be reclaimed in time to do the allies any good in this war; that the crisis of the war is at hand, and must be disposed of by the allies for better or worse without Russia's help.

This, it appears to The Post, is an exceedingly short-sighted view, and until evidence is forthcoming to the contrary we shall not believe that the allied council at Paris decided to leave Russia to her fate. On the contrary, we believe that the sagacious statesmen dominating that conference have taken steps to give powerful aid to Russia. We believe that these leaders have full confidence in the restoration of Russia's sanity in time to be of immense importance in this war. They do not regard the threatened German offensive in the west as precipitating the crisis of the war, for the reason that allied artillery is at least equal to anything that Germany can bring up, and probably greatly superior. Mere masses of men thrown against British



#### THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE ALLIES

and French artillery will not gain anything for Germany. The allies look for a terrific blow against Italy, but they are agreed that this effort, even if successful in capturing Venice, will not save Germany from the defeat that is now clearly in sight.

This defeat will be administered by the allies with the powerful help of the United States. It cannot be accomplished before next year. America's military and aerial power cannot be concentrated before that time. In the interval there does not appear to be any possibility of a decision of the war in Europe, however vigorously Germany may struggle.

In the months that must elapse, it is inconceivable that the allies will stand idly by and witness the further disintegration of Russia without trying to aid the Russian people. Every effort made in behalf of Russia is a stroke in favor of the allies. Every failure to help Russia is a direct favor to Germany. It may be that the war will so develop that effective work done now in behalf of Russia will turn the scale of battle a year or two years hence and save the lives of tens of thousands of Americans, Britons, Frenchmen and Italians.

At no time during this world-shaking epoch has the duty of the allies been so emphatically, thunderously proclaimed by events as in the case of Russia. The allies blundered in failing to save Serbia. They blundered in the case of Roumania. They blundered almost to the point of losing Greece. They have an opportunity now to avoid the most colossal blunder of all, by immediately beginning an anti-German propaganda in Russia. The opportunity will not be open long.

*Wednesday, December 19, 1917*

## Hysteria and Truth

THE wave of depression that is sweeping over the country, particularly among business men, is a perfectly natural reaction, and will disappear as soon as Americans in the mass are better acquainted with existing facts and are better able to weigh the factors that must decide the course and outcome of the war.

Too many Americans have been mental slackers. They have neglected their duty in failing to get in line with the truth. They have contented themselves with braggadocio and bluster. They have vaguely assured themselves that a little more bluster and little more bluff would frighten the kaiser into surrender "some time next spring." They were surprised that Germany did not abjectly surrender when the United States declared war.

Now that Germany masses her legions for bigger battles than ever in sublime contempt of America these easy-going citizens are attacked by a severe case of "cold feet." Their confidence has suddenly disappeared. Instead of a German surrender, they now picture to themselves a scientifically remorseless German murder machine cutting down swaths of humanity on its way to American shores. Instead of blissfully ignoring what their own government was doing, these citizens are now acutely suspicious of Washington. They look upon it as the center of chaos itself, where incompetence and selfishness are struggling toward ruin. Nothing is going right; no department is administered properly; everything is botched and everybody is blundering.

Congress reflects the popular feeling by ordering investigations into everybody and everything. The rule for the time being is this: "Whatever is, is wrong." Every investigation has for its object a change of system and personnel. Out with them! "America must win the war."

This hysteria will pass in due time. It is misrepresentative of America's true spirit. It is as much a libel upon the real America as was that braggadocio and bluster upon which too large a percentage of Americans relied to "scare the kaiser."

The United States of America was not brought forth to die at the hand of assassins. It has already been subjected to the fiercest test that could be imposed upon its ability to survive. It has gone

up against a people vastly more dangerous and more terrible in battle than Germans—namely, Americans. When the American Union was cemented by the blood of its own people it passed beyond the stage where any foreign hand could destroy it.

France went through the same test of fire, and is now indestructible. Great Britain was tried by civil war, and survived, to become free and great. Italy conquered herself and is forever free. Russia is going through the test now, and since her people are simple, honest and liberty-loving, it is a certainty that Russia will emerge as a mighty nation, invulnerable to destruction from without. Germany alone, of all great countries, must pass through the bloody baptism of civil war, to come forth a free and self-governing nation.

With calm confidence, with foreknowledge of victory, America day by day draws nearer to the hour when she will administer to Germany the defeat that has been ordained. The passing incidents, the whirls and eddies of daily events are less than nothing in the march of this New World toward the establishment of self-government among men, including Germans. The majesty of the western hemisphere baring its arm for battle, the glory that shines on the sword of outraged Liberty, the power that Nature delivers to her free sons to be used in behalf of freedom—these are not visible to the eye of flesh, but they are clear and resplendent to the eye of every true-born American.

Let the barbarian rage; let the scientific savages plot and plan against the life of Liberty. They are as impotent against the western hurricane as the summer gnat, and they are as woefully steeped in blindness as those rabbit-hearted Americans who now squeak and tremble at the thought of a battle to the finish.



*Tuesday, December 25, 1917*

## Relying Upon America

**M**ORE and more the civilized world is relying upon the United States to furnish the strength to win the war. From all that is on the surface and from much that has not appeared, comes the evidence of humanity's dependence upon the United States and the New World in the struggle with the force that seeks to do away with self-government.

Not only do the allied nations freely acknowledge that their fate is bound up in the action of the United States, but the enemy is daily more frank in designating the United States as his real antagonist. This nation, the representative of free republics, and especially of the republics of this hemisphere, is the target of the venomous wrath of the German murder lords. Having failed to seduce or deceive the United States, they now propose to defeat it by wearing away the allies and then falling with crushing force upon America. Treacherous "peace" proposals and preparation for huge war strokes go forward together. If the United States cannot be defeated by treachery, it must be smashed by the mailed fist.

The inevitable struggle draws near. The enemy is arrogantly confident, with the swollen pride, based upon ignorance, that always goes before a fall. He counts upon a multitude of factors to defeat this nation, factors which either do not exist or which will disappear under the stress of fighting. He relies upon poisonous propaganda, which cannot win in an enlightened country where patriots are on guard. He counts upon defections in Latin America, evidently believing that temptations of material advantage will induce the free republics of this hemisphere to throw away their freedom. In this the enemy builds upon false hopes. The American republics won their freedom after great exertion and suffering. They will not throw it away for a mess of German pottage, even if Germany should intend in good faith to deliver the pottage and should possess the ability to do so.

Germany also counts upon the disability of Italy—a hope that is destined to disappointment. Italy is indestructible. She may be sorely wounded, but she cannot be disintegrated or defeated. Her people are of one mind; they are fighting for the integrity of their own soil, for the protection of their own homes and loved ones. The

tiger is not more fierce than the Italian soldier who now stands at bay on his native crags.

Germany lays great store upon the collapse of Russia. That catastrophe deeply affects the Russian people, but it does not turn the fortunes of war to Germany. The allies have reached the point where they need not fear the onslaught of German soldiers, pushed by a remorseless hand into the muzzles of allied cannon. These cannon are ready. Germany will quit the useless sacrifice of her soldiers before the allied cannon will cease their roar.

The war is to drag itself into next spring, next summer, and probably longer, until such time as the allies, invigorated and hugely reinforced by America, combine in an offensive that will overwhelm the German power.

Hence the passing incidents need not be too closely analyzed and dwelt upon. The end cannot be reached before its time, or by sleight of hand. By the hammer of brute force the German war power must be shattered. Until that is accomplished, every individual in every allied nation, America especially, has his work cut out for him. Every American should strive to broaden his vision, strengthen his resolution, intensify his patriotism, and purge himself of self interest. The nation will be strong if its citizens are devoted. Its war strength will be irresistible if its people join hearts and hands.

*Wednesday, December 26, 1917*

## German War and Peace Delusions

THE German emperor's speeches to his soldiers on the western front are evidently timed to facilitate the fraudulent peace overtures that Germany feels impelled to make. The kaiser boasts of the invincibility of German arms; of the wonderful achievement of his army in preventing Haig from breaking through; of the slaughter at Verdun, which distorted German brains may construe as useful and effective, and of the "peace" along the Russian front. The blasphemous wretch who wears the imperial crown concludes his speeches by assuring his dupes that the Almighty is the ally of Germany, and that unless the allied nations accept peace it will be forced upon them by the mailed fist and shining sword of Germany.

How vain, how empty is the voice of this crowned murderer, who struts a few days in the sun before going to his Maker!

The world considers the boasting of the kaiser in connection with the treachery and falsehood now employed by Germany in demoralizing Russia. The victims of German atrocities are best qualified to put a true appraisal upon the mouthings of the war lord. The allied nations regard his utterances with curiosity, as they would those of a madman, and are as little swayed by them.

The assumption by Germany that the allied nations will send representatives to the "peace conference" at Brest-Litovsk is one of the ridiculous incidents of the war. It is worth while to have a good laugh at such nonsense, appearing in the midst of so much that is wearing upon the patience of the world. The spectacle of allied nations, representing all civilization, gathering at the behest of German tricksters and an assortment of Russian traitors and dupes, to discuss a peace based upon the supremacy of Germany, would prove that the world had gone mad indeed.

Germany's peace propaganda is intended to appeal to the ignorant and base elements of all allied nations, as well as to the gullible majority in Germany. The kaiser convinces his people that he is in league with divine omnipotence. Hence they go like lambs to the slaughter. History does not record a parallel to the infatuation of the German massed troops, save in the ecstasies of Moslem fanatics who actually hypnotize themselves into seeing Paradise above the muzzles of the enemy guns. The German losses at Verdun, Cambrai,



Vimy Ridge, Chemin des Dames, the Somme and in the Trentine Alps have been ruinously high. No people except those possessed of religious mania would continue such a devastating war. The German people are literally in possession of a delusion that carries them to destruction. There can be no compromise nor even an approach toward a discussion of differences while the German nation is beside itself. Its frenzy must be knocked out of it by adversity; its senses must be restored by brutal shocks well-nigh fatal to its mortal frame.

The allies are anything but deluded. They see with eyes sharpened by the terrible danger. They are keenly alive to the nature and magnitude of their task. They realize the costly nature of the blunders they have made. Necessity drives them to new and untried expedients, but they are throwing away old prejudices and are quick to seize upon the advantage of timeliness. Every day brings the allied nations nearer together; every day widens the gulf between civilization and a dishonorable and unsafe peace.

The German ruler and the German plotters boast and rave, but the allied forces of civilization work inexorably toward the doom of the system that strikes at freedom.

*Friday, December 28, 1917*

## On the European Fronts

A BROAD survey of the military situation induces expert observers to believe that the German government is planning to assemble forces for its supreme effort, not this winter, but next spring and summer. The great antagonists lie sprawled in the mud on the western front, locked in an embrace that will not permit either of them to change his position materially until transportation difficulties are lessened. No doubt Germany is increasing the number of troops along the western front, but unless they are accompanied by a heavy increase of artillery, quite beyond the gun strength of the allies, there is not apt to be any decisive fighting before spring.

The delays obtained by the Germans in negotiating with the Russians at Brest-Litovsk are palpably for the purpose of gaining time in which to shift troops to the western and Italian fronts. The fact that Germany has pledged itself not to move troops from the Russian front during the armistice does not hinder; probably the pledge was given with the intention of breaking it. Since the negotiations are inherently base and treacherous, for the sole purpose of betraying the Russians, it goes without saying that the Germans will not hesitate to take advantage of any minor opportunities.

The situation calls for extreme energy by the Teutons on the Italian front, for the purpose of breaking through and taking Venice and solidifying the Teuton position in Italy before events elsewhere demand full attention. Hence the Austro-German attacks in the Trentino and along the Piave and Brenta are active and persistent, with steadily accumulating forces. Slowly but surely the Teutons are working down toward the plains and threatening to flank the Italian army on the Piave. Much stronger forces than any thus far sent by France and England must go to Italy's aid if Venice is to be saved; for the line of defense is not strategically sound, and it can be held only by superior numbers and superior artillery.

The British campaigns in Palestine and Mesopotamia are very successful. Although little or nothing has appeared in print on the subject, it seems probable that the relations between Germany and Turkey are severely strained. If the two were in full accord there would be a strong Turkish force under German command resisting the British advance. It was to be Gen. von Falkenhayn's task to

reorganize the Turks for service against the Britons. The feeble opposition by the natives gives no indication of Von Falkenhayn's presence. Indeed, the operations strongly indicate that communication between Constantinople and Jerusalem was cut off some months ago.

If the allies were as active in propagandizing as are their enemies, they might take advantage of the possible breach between Germany and Turkey and make of it a wedge to split the central alliance.

The change of commanders at Saloniki is an interesting sequel to the British advance and the Italian situation. Gen. Guillaumat, who succeeds Gen. Sarraill, is a man of tremendous force, whose mettle has been lately proved. The transport of men and supplies to Saloniki has been maintained by England and France against all obstacles, and the force there is now in shape to operate successfully under the right leadership. If the Turks have become demoralized, as appears probable, the hour may be near for offensive tactics by the allies in the Balkans.

One of the important factors of the situation is the keen and unified survey that is now made by the allies through the council sitting at Versailles. Although this council does not exercise supreme authority, it is supreme in military intelligence and ability to consolidate upon wise plans. The allied governments are thus constrained to adopt the conclusions of the council. Mr. Lloyd George recently observed that the creation of the council marked a turning point in the war, as would be acknowledged later.



*Tuesday, January 1, 1918*

## To Americans in the Year 1918

**M**ANKIND stands in awe of the vast inscrutable portents of the New Year. The world faces a new untrodden No Man's Land, with no light overhead and no path underfoot. For reasons beyond the ken of mortals the nations are under the harrow of war. Two or three strong nations have become involved during the last year, and apparently the process will continue until the world has been made over.

This is a time when the ephemeral drops away like a cloak, and men grope for some immovable rock of refuge, some rule of life that will save them and all that has been accumulated by their sweat since the Dark Ages. Where is the rock to be found? What is the immutable rule that can withstand the shock and the deluge?

Americans know in their hearts that the rock of refuge and the rule of salvation is Liberty. It is the one sure reliance, the one guide to life, safety and happiness. Without liberty and the spirit of liberty, Americans would become a mob of overprosperous fatlings, ripe for the ravagings of steel-thewed barbarians. Inspired by liberty, America is capable of laying aside the garments of peace and buckling on an invincible armor. The transformation is going on before our eyes.

As passionately as they cling to life, Americans believe their organized forces will defeat the world's enemy. They cannot conceive of defeat as the fate of the United States. They are overconfident in too many instances, with the result that preparation is not hastened as it should be. Too many Americans fail to understand that the hurricane involves themselves, their families, their fortunes, their honor and their country's fate. They do not reason out to its conclusion the awful consequence of possible defeat. What is the family tie in lands conquered by the enemy? What is private property worth? What avails the labor of a man's hands? What would a man gain by hoarding if the United States should lose the war?

All that an American has is his country's in this crisis. He owes to his country his life, the lives of his sons, his fortune, his courageous spirit and his effective brain. Without his country an American is a poor shred of man, the jest of a brutal master, a trained dog for a German.

The clouds across the Atlantic are dark, indeed, on the dawn of the New Year. But what about the light in the West? What of the radiance that shines from heaven upon the free New World? Here is the hope of humanity. The Old World is inextricably engulfed in misery. It cannot do more than stagger along in bloody trenches, unable to make successful war or successful peace.

The New World must carry forward the war for humanity during this new year, and so long as brute force attempts to control mankind. God grant that the lightnings may be gathered for the shattering of the enemy during this twelvemonth! God grant that the real spirit of America may burst forth from slothful wrappings, arm itself with the New World's power, and smite the enemy hip and thigh!

Every American crossing the Atlantic goes on a holy errand. Every gun, every shell, every bullet aimed at the heart of the enemy is engaged in sacred work for the relief of humanity. America's cause is as just as Truth, as holy as a benediction from the Almighty. Speed the ships, you shipbuilders! Hammer out the steel and copper, you millworkers! Join hands, you railroad men! Sharpen your eyes and toughen your muscles, you boys in khaki and blue jackets! There is glorious work ahead. The world that is worth saving turns to America for salvation. The enemy turns also, and faces America with savage courage and a bloody knife. May Americans feel in their hearts the spirit that lifted up the bold and warlike of our nation in ancient days. May the free men of this republic strike the fatal blow during the year 1918!

*Friday, January 4, 1918*

## Russia Groping Toward Liberty

THE resolutions adopted by the Russian delegates, rejecting the Austro-German attempts to throw a Teuton chain around Poland, Courland, Lithuania, Esthonia and Livonia, give more than a glimmering of the authentic light of liberty. There is much that is mixed in the Russian brain, but it is inconceivable that it could become so befuddled as to prefer German tyranny to Russian liberty. The only manner in which the German autocracy can extinguish liberty even temporarily in Russia is through the betrayal by Russians of their own cause. Unfortunately some traitors are at work, but the indications that they may succeed are becoming less distinct.

Not even treason can permanently enslave Russia. That nation cannot be deprived of its liberty, either by German arms or German craft. The "internationalists" may go as far as they like, and treason may do its worst, but the Russian people, when they perceive that they have been deluded or betrayed into the loss of liberty, will take their liberty again. No power is strong enough to tie them down. Of this determination to attain freedom abundant evidence has been given. It is apparent now, in the midst of confused and sophomoric utterances, above the Babel of treason and war.

The United States and the other allies cannot afford to lose heart in dealing with Russia and the Russians. There is no excuse for deserting the field and acknowledging the victory of the enemy. The battle has not been lost. It cannot be utterly lost while the spirit of liberty lives in Russian breasts.

Cunning and cautious dealings are necessary, no doubt. The revolution has stirred the depths and brought to the surface all sorts of strange reptiles. The allies are perplexed by treacherous currents and unexpected rapids. There is, however, one true course that may be pursued, which is marked out by the bearings of human nature. It is not only safe for the allies to assume that the Russians will obtain their liberty, but it is wise policy to assume it and adhere to it through thick and thin. Human nature does not change. It will operate in Russia for the cause of freedom as it operates elsewhere. The temporary reverses and disappointments, caused by treason, bribery, ignorance, betrayal and other passing influences, are in one sense an absolute assurance that Russia will not settle down until she settles down as a free nation.



The wings of the morning have carried the message of liberty. Across immense stretches of Europe and Asia the magic word has been borne, in hundreds of dialects, never misunderstood, and never failing to kindle a fire that cannot be extinguished. Like music, liberty is instantly translatable into all languages and understandable by all hearts. Treason, domestic tumult, private ambition, bribery, foreign aggression—all are outstripped by the message that has gone flying over Russia. Not one of these malign influences will ever overtake and slay liberty. Russia may suffer from an overdose of liberty for a time, but she will not do without it hereafter. German and Austrian plots and plans to shackle the Russian people and reduce them to slaves to the Teuton power constitute only that elusive hope of success which eventually may spell ruin for the conspirators.

The allies can do much to counteract the Teuton conspiracy. They can accelerate the establishment of stable liberty in Russia. They can exclude much poison that the Germans are injecting into Russian veins. This much is due to Russia. The abandonment of the Russians would be almost an admission that republics cannot be successfully established in Europe; that German militarism must be called in to establish order; that the dream of self-government is a failure, so far as one-seventh of the globe is concerned.

*Sunday, January 6, 1918*

## The Great War Aim

THE kernel of Premier Lloyd George's statement of the allies' war aims is this paragraph:

"The days of the treaty of Vienna are long past. We can no longer submit the future of European civilization to the arbitrary decisions of a few negotiators striving to secure by chicanery or persuasion the interests of this or that dynasty or nation. Therefore, government with the consent of the governed must be the basis of any territorial settlement."

So marches the Declaration of Independence, from one end of Europe to the other! Under the banner proclaiming that men shall be free to govern themselves, all humanity is on the move toward the goal of liberty. No earthly power can stop the movement, for it is the greatest power on earth that causes the movement.

The war lords of Germany started the war, believing that the fate of dynasties and nations would be determined by Germany, in the interest of the superior German race.

The war lords of Germany started something that neither they nor any other lords can stop. Perhaps the rulers of Germany would be glad to return to the old place they occupied before the war. They will never return.

It is well, while reading Mr. Lloyd George's sturdy, clean-cut, decisive utterance, to let the mind run back to the beginning of the war and consider the immense expansion of the spirit of liberty since the hour when Franz Josef's trembling hand, guided by the "mailed fist," struck what was to be a fatal blow at puny Serbia. At almost the same moment when Mr. Lloyd George spoke in England, the head of the Serbian mission addressed the United States Senate, and voiced the indomitable spirit of liberty. Is Serbia dead, as the imperial assassins intended? On the contrary, one of the conspirators has gone to his Maker, and the other will go in due time, with the blood of over 10,000,000 men on his soul. The shedders of blood go down to destruction, but the spirit of liberty lifts stricken nations and bids them survive.

Austria-Hungary and Germany are joining the throng of humanity that marches toward freedom. True, they are in the rearward of

the procession, with the Turks, but they are beginning to move. The subject nationalities of Austria-Hungary are stirred to the depths. Italy, Roumania and Serbia are not calling in vain to their sons who are in the Teuton-Magyar toils. The reconstruction of Austria-Hungary is an event that casts its shadow before the world. When the United States declared war on Austria-Hungary, the die was cast. This nation cannot remain a free republic and abandon its duty of smashing Austria-Hungary as well as Germany. The free governments of the earth respond to the will of their free peoples, and this will has been registered on earth and carried to heaven by a million martyrs—"The earth shall be governed with the consent of the governed."

Details and specifications are unnecessary. The ups and downs of daily struggles mean little. The main fact is sufficient for present consideration as a guide to clear thought on the meaning and end of this war. That fact, as we see it, is that mankind has been aroused from the sloth of centuries and is now determined once for all to make this world free, according to nationalities which can live at peace with their neighbors, each on its ancestral soil. The maniac nations attempting to dominate the others will be disarmed and confined to their own boundaries. There they may make themselves free if they like. Thereafter, if they or any other nations attempt to upset the world's peace, combined civilization will disarm and punish them. The second attempt will be a brief and inglorious failure, for the world has learned something from this war and will not be caught napping again.



*Saturday, January 12, 1918*

## Freedom the Fundamental War Aim

THE war lords and spokesmen of Germany utter howls of rage and dismay in commenting upon President Wilson's address.

If they were astonished by Premier Lloyd George's sturdy declaration of war aims, they are stupefied by the ultimatum that reaches them from the New World.

In connection with its military campaigns Germany has diligently conducted a peace offensive, in the hope that confusion of purpose might be engendered among the allies, causing a break somewhere and thereby enabling Germany to issue from the war with most of her loot intact. The people of Germany must have peace sooner than the people of allied countries must have it, but the German war-makers have been trying to devise a peace that will give Germany large acquisitions and permit her to escape without punishment or disarmament.

President Wilson's address puts an end to the German hopes. From high to low, the people of Germany now know that they cannot keep their loot and have peace. In order to obtain peace they must either become harmless or free—that is, they may democratize themselves and thus prepare for a peace based upon justice, or they may continue the fight until they are whipped and made harmless. In neither event can they have both peace and spoils.

"President Wilson is trying to queer our negotiations at Brest-Litovsk," cries one of the German organs. We hope that was one of Mr. Wilson's aims, and we ardently hope it will succeed. It was high time that the allies should let Russia know that free nations sympathize with her, in spite of her violent gyrations in trying to find stable government.

Every day brings out more distinctly the great fact that this war has become a revolution for the freedom of nations, including the German nation. The war ought not to end prematurely, leaving huge proportions of the human race in slavery. It should be fought to the point where all the large nations are agreed that each nationality must be permitted to occupy its ancestral soil and there govern and develop itself according to its own national genius. As soon as Germany and Austria-Hungary see this light of truth there can be quick and just peace, equitable to those nations. Until they see this light they must face the bayonets and bullets of the world.

The world is not fighting because it seeks to shed blood, but having been compelled to take up the sword in defense of the liberty that had been accumulated up to 1914, it has now made up its mind not to lay down the sword until freedom is substantially universal. That is now the only guarantee of permanent peace. It is better to fight and hold on to any advantages of the fight than to make temporary peace and lose those advantages at the opening of fresh war. Germany is breathing hard now, and her people are losing their lust for world domination as their bellies flatten. Continued war will bring them to reason. Temporary peace would enable them to regain their flesh and arm themselves anew.

Nothing more accurate and luminous has been said by any statesman during this war than Mr. Balfour's remarks that Germany must be powerless or free. Other nations are either powerless or free, and many of them are both. If Germans were free, peace would be automatic. If Germans will not make themselves free, the world must make them powerless. The point has been reached where the alternative is a harmless Germany or a Germanized world.

The war has taught mankind that no nation can be trusted unless it is governed by its own people. Human safety requires that all nations not self-governed shall be disarmed or destroyed. Germany has the choice, along with all other nations, to free herself or commit suicide. The outside world does not care how Germans rule themselves. If they like Hohenzollerns they can have all the Hohenzollerns they like, but in dealing with the rest of the world it must be clear that Germany is governed with consent of the governed, or the war will not and cannot cease.

*Sunday, January 20, 1918*

## The Search for Efficiency

ANY WAR cabinet or council which Congress might create would be merely a means of assisting the President of the United States to conduct the war. Therefore no cabinet or council should be created, and no powers should be conferred upon any person, without the advice and consent of the President previously obtained.

The executive power of the United States is vested in the President, and he is commander-in-chief of the army and navy and of the militia while it is in the national service. Executive departments are mere creations of Congress, designed to aid the President. They may be changed or abolished in an hour. If it should appear wise to alter the War Department so as to make it a subordinate branch of a Department of Munitions, Congress could make the change. But it should not make any changes affecting the conduct of the war without first obtaining the advice and consent of the President, in whom is placed the authority and responsibility of executive power.

Congress has before it an object lesson of efficiency and an object lesson of inefficiency, side by side. The Navy is efficiently supplied and operated. The Army is inefficiently supplied and operated. Is it not worth while to study these two object lessons and ascertain the reason why the Navy succeeds where the Army fails?

The first solid fact revealed by the most casual study is that authority and responsibility are regarded as inseparable in the Navy, while they are often if not invariably divided in the War Department. Another solid fact is that administrative powers and responsibilities are concentrated in the Navy, while they are scattered in the War Department. If anything should go wrong in the Navy Department, the blame can be placed instantly, and, of course, the remedy can be instantly applied. If anything should go wrong in the War Department, the blame cannot be fixed with certainty, and in most cases there is no remedy without an organic revolution. The same blunder may be committed over and over again.

Reorganization of the war-making machinery should be made with these facts in mind. In an effort to build up an efficient machine there should be no such blunder as the wrecking of the only machine that is efficient—the United States Navy. That blunder would be similar to the one made by Dr. Garfield, whose diagnosis of the fuel situation led him to prescribe knock-out drops instead of a stimulant.



Why not adopt for the War Department the efficient plan in operation in the Navy Department? There is no copyright upon it. One officer is responsible to the Secretary of the Navy for the purchasing and contracting of supplies for all divisions of the Navy. If one officer were responsible to the Secretary of War for the purchasing and contracting of supplies for all divisions of the Army the present chaos would disappear. Eventually, however, the task of utilizing the national resources for victory in war will necessitate the creation of a department for that purpose.

England, in creating a Department of Munitions, did not break up its efficient admiralty purchasing organization. The British Navy Department's supply department, like the American, is kept intact and efficient.

England found that the development and organization of man power was one thing and the development and organization of material resources was another thing. So it created a Department of Munitions. The United States will do the same after adversity has shown the necessity for it. There is no more reason why the Secretary of War should be charged with the duty of developing and organizing the industrial and natural resources of this nation than with the duty of supervising agriculture, which is a collateral war activity. Let the Secretary of War develop and train the nation's man power, and he will have his hands full, if it is done efficiently.

*Monday, January 21, 1918*

## Keep the End in Sight

THE country seems to be in for another fit of depression, which may be ascribed to an overdose of overconfidence followed by a shock or two of realities. In many parts of the country there has been a persistent determination not to learn the truth. The minds of too many Americans have been closed to the fact that the United States is confronted by an enemy that is superior to this country so far as immediate ability to use resources for war is concerned. Germany has long been organized for war, politically and economically, while the United States has not been organized for war in any branch of the government.

Too many Americans have compared the size of the German empire with that of the United States, and then reassured themselves that Germany would be glad to seek peace as soon as it was really convinced that the United States intended to make war on a scale commensurate with its size. The fact that a larger country than the United States lies alongside Germany, a huge derelict offering all its loot to the Germans, has made little impression with this class of Americans.

Superior size means nothing in this war. Unorganized or unutilized resources are equivalent to no resources at all. Man power that is not organized and trained and armed is equivalent to a population of women and children, subject to the conqueror.

By the use of convoys and incessant patrolling by destroyers the United States has sent to France many ships without loss. The passing of months without a disaster seemed to justify the overconfident Americans who reckoned that the mere prestige of the United States would demoralize Germany and paralyze her fighting arm. Germany apparently confirmed this error by avoiding a clash with Gen. Pershing's divisions, although it is beyond question that these divisions were vulnerable. Germany's policy has been to lull the Americans into nonaction and overconfidence, and altogether too many of them have permitted themselves to be deceived. The work of preparing for the coming struggle has been greatly retarded by this widespread feeling of overconfidence and this inability to grasp the realities of the situation.

Now, when a rude awakening is imminent, it may be expected that there will be outbursts of popular anger, directed against every

authority responsible for war preparation, from the President and Congress down to majors and captains. Joined with this anger will be depression among the intelligent and pessimism among the uninformed. Demagogues will seize upon this passing opportunity to calumniate the administration. Many men will be eager to show how much better they could order affairs than President Wilson can order them. Congress will be asked to do all sorts of foolish things. Already the process has begun.

The path that a sane American should pursue in these times is plainly visible. It is the path of moderation, calm confidence, ceaseless vigilance and eagerness to learn every fact that will contribute to the success of the United States. The true patriot will be rather silent than vocal. He will be busy sifting out truth from error. He will keep his eye on public officials, and weigh them in the balance of actual trial. When they have proved their unfitness he will do what he can to have them removed to a place where they cannot do further damage, but in lopping off incompetence it is not necessary to tear down the structure that is being reared.

There is no occasion for depression, just as there is no justification for overconfidence. The United States with its allies will defeat Germany in the end, for the good and sufficient reason that truth, right and liberty are reinforced by superior strength and resources. God is on the side of the heavy battalions, and the heavy battalions are on the side of liberty. The war is like a sea voyage, with its calms and storms. The true American will keep his heart and mind set on the end of the voyage, and the passing mishaps will not unduly depress him.



*Thursday, January 24, 1918*

## The Purse and the Sword

UNQUESTIONABLY the movement in Congress for the creation of a "war cabinet" is caused by the widespread popular distrust of some of the men called upon to exercise great powers under the President. This popular distrust, in turn, has been caused by the revelation of facts which no amount of explaining can make acceptable to the people. In the midst of much that is admirable there is much that is utterly without excuse in a nation that prides itself upon its industrial equipment and industrial capacity. The admirable is admitted, but, after all, it was expected. The inexcusable blunders are all the more condemned because they come as a stunning revelation of incompetence, and are in a way an indictment of the efficiency of the United States. Many Americans have been deeply chagrined by these disclosures. The self-satisfaction of the country has suffered a shock.

At the same time, it is impossible to conceive how affairs would be bettered by a quarrel between Congress and the Executive, precipitated by an attempt on the part of Congress to compel the Executive to conduct the war according to its ideas and contrary to his own.

Congress holds the purse, but it handed the sword to President Wilson on April 6. If it should now endeavor to regain possession of the weapon, every one except the German enemy will be cut and maimed in the *mêlée*.

At this moment a quarrel has arisen in England which threatens to paralyze the activities of that nation to a dangerous degree. One of the newspapers in London comments upon the situation in words which are just as applicable in Washington as they are in London:

"We cannot believe that the British nation, which owes so much of its success in history to the sobriety of its popular judgments, either desires such an orgy of destructive meddling and squabbling or will permit it to proceed. We have enough enemies to fight on the other side of No Man's Land. There must be no internal offensive to distract and paralyze our war."

The United States, also, owes much to the sobriety of popular judgment. The people will have their way. It is useless to try to deceive the people or to oppose their will. What is their will in this threatened clash between the President and Congress? Obviously the

people oppose a quarrel—an "internal offensive," as the British journal calls it. The people look to Congress to keep a hand on the purse-strings, and they expect the President to wield the sword. This is the fundamental law, adopted by the people and never amended or repealed by them.

When the President delegates to feeble or unfit hands any of the war powers, the people will attend to the matter in due time. The proper way to meet that situation is not by thrusting upon the President a committee to wield the sword. Any President, finding his magic strength oozing away because of the ebbing confidence of the people, will surely try to regain his strength by casting off the influences or persons who are threatening to ruin his administration of affairs. There need be no legislation by Congress to meet such an issue.

On the other hand, the people will never desert the President during war. They will stand more compactly behind him. His strength comes from them, not from himself or from Congress. They will see that this strength is safeguarded for him. His mistakes, if any, they will endeavor to offset by appropriate counsel and friendly suggestion. His absolute and exclusive responsibility for the direction of military and naval affairs serves always as a reminder that he must have absolute and exclusive authority in that field.

In a crisis the people of the United States would just as promptly restrain Congress from encroaching upon the Executive as they would disarm any Executive who should attempt to establish a military dictatorship.

*Tuesday, January 29, 1918*

## **An Invention of the Enemy**

**R**EPORTS from Vienna and Berlin exhibit a lively desire on the part of the German and Austrian foreign offices to make a catspaw of President Wilson. The hope is cherished that by a circuitous backdoor route the path to peace may be found. Apparently it is supposed by the Teutons that if they make the proper approaches to President Wilson he will use his influence upon the allied governments to induce them to give up such aims as the rehabilitation of Belgium, the evacuation of northern France, the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the restoration of Serbia and Roumania, the freedom of Poland and other subject peoples, the transfer of Trent and Trieste to Italy, and the deposit of guarantees that Germany shall never run amuck again.

The approaches to President Wilson are to be made through the Hapsburgs, whose hands are not quite so bloody as those of the Hohenzollerns. The intermediary in behalf of Germany is to be Count Czernin, the accomplished foreign minister of Austria, ably assisted by that consummate falsifier, Dr. von Kuehlmann, German minister of foreign affairs.

President Wilson has been grossly maligned many times by the enemy during this war, but never before has the enemy presumed to regard him as devoid of intelligence. The attempt to impose upon him at this time, in the manner indicated, is less complimentary to him than anything that has been said by his most virulent critics. One of the Cologne papers, eagerly grasping at the suggestion that Count Czernin may deceive President Wilson, imagines that one of the first developments will be a downward revision of the President's fourteen essentials of peace. Perhaps he will throw Alsace-Lorraine overboard. Perhaps he will agree that Germany shall have her colonies back without prejudice. Possibly he will be satisfied by the mere withdrawal of Germany from Belgium.

Notwithstanding the hubbub in Germany and Austria, the allies are not deceived. They know that when the Hohenzollerns suggest peace they are preparing for a treacherous stroke. On every occasion before an offensive the Germans have carefully spread peace talk, calculated to catch the allies napping and inducing them to slacken their efforts on the battlefield. It is good strategy, but it lacks novelty



now, and the allies are no longer to be deceived. The only hope of the Teutons is that President Wilson, not having been long at war, may be more gullible than the rulers of the allied nations.

The Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs come to the wrong place with their peace propaganda. The Yankees have fought savages before.

Another huge battle is imminent. The allies are ready for it. They have manned and gunned the line, and their ammunition is ample. The enemy has gathered immense forces, and doubtless a desperate effort will be made to break through the British or French line. America has not as many men on the front as she should have, but those in the trenches will give the enemy a taste of what is to come.

In the meantime it is toward war, and not toward peace, that President Wilson turns his energies. Many wrong tendencies have been corrected, and much has been accomplished in spite of incompetent help. The inevitable weeding-out process will bring better executives to the front, who will be able to transform President Wilson's clear-cut desires into accomplished facts. The United States knows that President Wilson understands exactly what it wants. It wants certain matters settled before it will be ready for peace. Peace is a fine thing, but it is not a substitute for national independence and human liberty. The two enemy nations having attacked the United States with intent to destroy it, there is to be a showdown. Count Czernin may say anything he pleases to his Austrian followers, and Dr. von Kuehlmann may outrival Count von Bernstorff in inventing brilliant substitutes for truth, but their utterances carry no weight with President Wilson or the American people.

The final decisive answer to all German and Austrian peace proposals, past and to come, was made by Congress when it handed the sword to President Wilson and told him to use all the resources of the United States to carry the war to success. No victory, no peace.

*Thursday, January 31, 1918*

## The Concentration of Power

CONGRESS will do well to weigh carefully all requests for grants of power. Enormous powers, with indefinite extensions into the twilight zone of autocracy, have been granted since the declaration of war, and it has been found that the mere transfer of power to the executive branch does not solve the war problems. There is no relativity in the powers granted; hence the powers exercised by the food administrator may clash with those granted to the fuel administrator. The President has been continually perplexed by the unexpected evidence of interdependence of powers and faculties that were supposed when granted to be separate and distinct.

One of the latest acts of the food administration is to try to reconcile its jurisdiction over food production to the jurisdiction over the same subject held by the Department of Agriculture. Both agencies cannot successfully occupy the same field at the same time, and yet both are required by law to go ahead and endeavor to encourage food production.

"Coördination" is the most overworked word in Washington, and yet coördination in fact is as rare as radium. The War Department is overhauled frequently for the sake of obtaining coördination, and each reorganization is proclaimed as an accomplishment of the happy event; but a succeeding reorganization merely proves that coördination is as far away as ever.

No individual is to blame for this state of affairs. Every one is trying to succeed, and the spirit of loyal support of the President is universal. The bare truth is that Congress, after declaring war, ground out a hash of laws without coherence or boundaries, called them "war powers," and shuffled them over upon the President, together with billions of dollars, and called upon him to win the war. From April 6 to this hour President Wilson has been endeavoring to evolve a solar system out of the nebulae dumped upon him, and to set this system in orderly and harmonious motion. The creativeness of Congress was limited to a single burst of energy, and it was without form and void.

Is the situation to be improved by adding to the uncertain powers already conferred? Is it an act of real coöperation with the President to impose upon him additional burdens?

## THE CONCENTRATION OF POWER

The investigations in Congress touching the War Department, the shipping board, and other activities are of great value. Much has been learned. Mistakes have been discovered which can be corrected and avoided. Better methods have been suggested, and new legislation is an obvious consequence of the testimony. Congress will be asked by members of the various committees to study the situation carefully with a view to perfecting legislation that will accomplish specific results. It is in this manner that Congress can be of best service to the Executive in conducting the war.

The discussion of proposed grants of power does not imply that power should be denied. Every unit of energy controlled by the government of the United States should be at the President's disposal in defeating Germany. But this energy should not be that of a band of uncouth gigantic maniacs, tearing at each other's throats and destroying themselves faster than they destroy the common enemy. It should be mechanized, elaborated, well-ordered and delicately adjusted energy, like the energy of a Niagara pulsating through a copper wire and controlled by a button at the President's hand.

Great definite branches of this power should be under the immediate direction of the President's trusted advisers, sitting at his table daily during the war. No power should be without its controller, and no controller should be absent from the table. Whether the power be political, financial, industrial, mechanical, military, naval, legal, nautical, or any other necessary for successful war, it should be concentrated to a fine point and be subject to complete and instantaneous control from the supreme council table.



*Tuesday, February 5, 1918*

## The Enemy at Bay

ALL SIGNS point to a colossal struggle on the western front within a few days. It is quite possible that if the German high command does not order an offensive the allied command will. The armies are in battle array from Nieuport to Belfort, including the small but now well-trained American force which holds a portion of the Lorraine front. The Secretary of War goes so far as to express the opinion that the allies are numerically superior to the enemy in both men and guns. Whether this belief be well founded or not, there is no doubt that the allies are so formidably equipped with artillery that there is no possibility of the Germans breaking through. If the Germans attempt too much, relying upon numerical superiority, the allied artillery will surely remove the disparity.

In spite of delays and mistakes, the American people are calm and confident. They look with fortitude upon the forthcoming baptism of the American troops, counting faithfully upon the dexterity and bravery of the men under the Stars and Stripes.

There is a growing disposition to pass over the flaws that have been so persistently discussed in this country. The people as a whole are looking upon the unfolding war operations in a large way. They remember the difficulties and delays that confronted all the allies in trying to meet the sudden onslaught of the well-prepared enemy. When compared with other nations, the United States in most respects has made good progress. The most effective preparations are those that are not yet disclosed, and which will not be disclosed until the hour of battle. These preparations have been cumulative, with small beginnings growing into enormous productiveness.

The most vexatious mixture of delay and confusion has been in quarters where the public had a right to look for efficiency. It is this fact which has caused so much bitter criticism.

One of the comforts which any American can hug to his bosom is the thought that the enemy is not the all-efficient superman he has been pictured. Germany is in hard straits. The people are hungry, and the war's drains have sapped their spirits to the dregs. When the mailed fist must be shaken over Berlin, with the threat that strikers shall be court-martialed and executed, it is not difficult to foresee that another hard campaign ending in failure will smash the German machine.

Can the allies hold out against the most desperate assault the Germans can organize? There is every reason to believe they can. The French armies are in good condition, materially and morally. They have more big guns than ever before, and behind the guns they have better and more confident marksmen than ever. The French situation would be satisfactory in every way if America would only send over more food. It is a pity that Americans will not individually make it their business to save such foods as France requires.

The British armies are in equally good condition, eager for the fray. Their artillery preparations are adequate. Their command of the lines is steadfast and vigilant. Transport facilities to the front have been greatly improved. There are more tanks than ever before. The Germans will find it impossible to surprise any portion of the allied lines. Any advantage gained by the enemy will be at extravagant if not ruinous cost of men, and at best this advantage will be local, and subject to immediate reverse by counter attack.

Thus Germany stands at bay, forced to wage a fight that is lost to her before she begins it. What then? The rude awakening in Germany, when the deluded people finally understand that their drunken campaign of blood and conquest has ended in defeat. At that time, with the allies thundering at the gates, the uprisings in German cities will have a deeper meaning, and the mailed fist may have urgent business elsewhere than in Berlin.

*Friday, February 8, 1918*

## Reorganizing Executive Departments

THE bill proposing to authorize the President to consolidate, create, abolish, merge, or otherwise modify executive agencies during the war is an astonishing suggestion. At first glance it seems to run counter to the fundamental spirit of the government.

But when astonishment has been followed by quiet thought it is perceived that the bill is not only a logical development of the war, but is in harmony with the spirit of the government. More than this: The general plan embodied in this bill must be adopted if the United States is to turn away from inefficiency and exert its strength effectively to win the war.

Senators say there must be a war cabinet and a department of munitions. The Executive says he must have power to deal as he sees fit with all executive departments and executive resources. Of these two proposals, that of the President is far superior and far better calculated to coördinate the nation's war powers.

What the Senate committee desires is harmonious and vigorous executive action in all branches of war operations. That is the same thing the President is seeking.

It is often forgotten that the executive power is lodged in the President, and not in the executive departments. The departments are creations of law, which may be abolished by Congress at will. They are merely conveniences through which the President executes the laws. In each department are loosely related or unrelated bureaus and offices, all of them being the visible attempt of Congress to facilitate the multifarious activities of the executive. Some of these departments and bureaus are satisfactory, and others are not, depending largely upon the personality of the men selected by the President to act in his behalf.

The proper selection of executive assistants is the most important work that can be performed by the President of the United States in peace or war. The creation, abolition, or merging of departments is an insignificant matter in comparison with the difficulty of choosing persons through whom to execute the nation's laws and the national will.

The United States in time of peace possessed various executive departments designed to administer the affairs of a nation at peace.



On April 6, 1917, the United States changed its character and entered upon an undertaking more important than all the executive operations in peace times. This undertaking is nothing else than an effort to defeat by war the strongest military power ever yet developed in the history of the world; the object of the effort being to make it forever impossible for Germany to endanger American liberty and independence. When the United States went to war, Congress made little or no provision for a change of executive establishments to accomplish the ends of war. Provision was made for a larger army and navy, but Congress and the country were singularly reluctant to reorganize the executive departments and thus place the government in a position to perform its greatest duty.

Congress and the people have clung to the methods of peace while endeavoring to make effective war. The Executive, also, has been slow in proposing reorganizations which are necessary for the prosecution of the war.

The "war powers" of the United States government have never been fathomed. It is unnecessary to try to fathom them. It is sufficient to know that the founders of the republic made full provision for a government strong enough to put down all enemies, foreign or domestic, if the people are inspired by the will to survive and triumph.

The government thus empowered is not at present organized for war. The President, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and the executor of the laws, asks Congress to permit him to make such changes in the machinery subordinate to him as will enable him to make effective war. Why should there be any hesitation in changing the government from a peace to a war organization? Is it desired that the war should be prolonged, or fought to an indecisive finish? Is there lurking in the mind of Congress and the people a notion that the peace activities of ordinary times are more important than the war?

*Friday, February 15, 1918*

### Bolo and Boloism

A FRENCH court-martial has passed the sentence of death upon Paul Bolo, commonly known as Bolo Pasha, for the crime of "intelligence with the enemy." The evidence of his guilt was overwhelming, and it is to be hoped that the sentence will be executed with promptness.

Bolo Pasha is a Levantine, of that nondescript type immortalized by Du Maurier in his picture of "Svengali." These slippery, uncannily shrewd individuals appear sometimes "out of the mysterious East," equipped with oily tongues, insinuating manners, innumerable languages, inexhaustible worldly experience of the viler sort, an audacity and a capacity for crooked finance that are nothing short of marvelous. In his ability to make black temporarily appear white and in his agility to wriggle out of false positions Bolo has had few equals in history.

It is quite possible that the very zest of worming his way through dangerous places partly inspired Bolo Pasha in his dealings with the enemy of France. He attempted great enterprises, and for a time deceived extremely able men. He has the doubtful honor of attaching his name to a system of German propaganda hereafter to be known as Boloism, which consists of carrying on campaigns of pacifism and discouragement in the countries opposed to Germany, in order to break down their morale. Bolo agreed to handle such a campaign in France, his object being to convince the French that Germany was invincible and that France would do well to make peace as soon as possible on the best terms obtainable.

From the United States went the information that led to Bolo's arrest. He secured a transfer of large sums from Germany to France through American banks and a German agent in New York. The tracing of these transactions, together with the interception of dispatches from Count von Bernstorff, gave the French authorities sufficient evidence upon which to complete their investigation of Bolo's activities. The whole story is one of absorbing interest up to date, and one or more chapters are still to be written.

The news that Bolo Pasha goes to his death will fall like a heavy blow upon Joseph Caillaux, former premier of France, who awaits trial for treason. Caillaux, whose intellectual powers resemble those

of Bolo in their brilliance and crookedness, is now ensnared in a net of incriminating evidence from which it appears impossible to escape. He, too, may charge up to the United States government much of the evidence that urges him toward death. The United States forwarded to France the intercepted dispatches from Von Bernstorff which proved that Caillaux was in communication with the German government and giving it aid and comfort.

There is Boloism in the United States as well as in France. Sooner or later a traitor to the United States will pay for his treason with his life. The workings of Boloism are so indirect that it is difficult to fasten the crime upon individuals, until or unless they become as audacious as Bolo or Caillaux. There is reason to believe, however, that the United States government has evidence in its possession which may become ultimately useful in sending traitors to the gallows.

So let them go! There is possibility of mercy in contemplating a spy, whose zeal for his country may have betrayed him into a trap. The spy is at least inspired by love of country. But the traitor has no redeeming trait. His hand is against his own flesh and blood, his own cradle, his own grave, and all that he should respect and hold dear. Death is really a reward to such a wretch as this, for it enables him to substitute oblivion for the scorpion lashings of his own conscience. But even though the penalty be light, in that sense, it must be inflicted. No nation can knowingly permit the communication of intelligence from its own bosom to the enemy. The individual guilty of such an act must die.



*Monday, February 18, 1918*

## The Allies United at Last

THE crisis in England which has just reached a head in the resignation of Gen. Sir William Robertson as chief of the imperial staff has long been latent. In spite of repeated declarations by members of the government it has been an open secret for months past that a struggle was going on behind the scenes between the military and the civil elements. Toward the end of 1915 the soldiers in England wrested the conduct of the war from the hands of the civil authorities, and since then have reigned supreme. The situation has been described as a military dictatorship. Although that term is an exaggeration, there is no doubt that in its relations with Downing street, Whitehall showed more of the steel gauntlet than the velvet glove.

This was a complete reversal of the proper and necessary rôles of the two elements. "War," declared Von Clausewitz, "is a continuation of policy." It is the attempt to gain by force what could not be gained by diplomacy. The supreme direction of war must therefore remain in the hands of the statesmen directing the government. At the beginning of a campaign it is the duty of a foreign minister to inform the chief of staff of the political situation which forms the basis of the war, the existing or prospective alliances, and the political combinations which may influence the course of events. On this basis the staff draws up its strategic plans. Hundreds of political factors having their influence upon military operations may arise during a campaign, and these factors must be dealt with by statesmen and not by the military staff. In the case of Great Britain, the greatest Mohammedan power in the world, it might be necessary, with a view to maintaining prestige and political supremacy in India, to undertake military operations having little or nothing to do with the main operations of the war. The closest coöperation, therefore, is necessary between the foreign office and the general staff.

The British general staff has been greedy for power, even at the expense of the political department. The practically uncontrolled military direction of affairs has not been fortunate. The allies have lost much and gained little by the intense concentration of the British general staff on the western front, to the exclusion of questions of great moment in Russia, Italy and the Balkans.

Unquestionably the influence of France and the United States has been exerted powerfully upon Mr. Lloyd George to reassert control of British affairs by the political department, thereby opening the way for closer coöperation between England and the other allies. The two great premiers, M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George, have evidently determined to supervise and control their respective national operations, and to merge their control in the supreme war council.

Bit by bit the supreme war council has been invested with real executive and directing powers over all the allied armies. It was an inevitable process. The British general staff opposed this process in vain. The British army, important as it is, is subordinate to the supreme needs of the hour, and must do its duty in harmony with other agencies for the winning of the war.

No doubt there will be reverberations of this quarrel in parliament. Demagogues may attempt to make capital out of the cry that British interests are sacrificed. So they may be, but so are French interests and American interests and all other allied interests. The war has reached a stage where every allied nation must make sacrifices in order that the world may survive. Sir William Robertson could not see this, and out he goes. If Field Marshal Haig refuses to see anything but the British army, out he will go, also.

The Germans make no distinction between enemies. They strike impartially at French or British or American or Italian armies, and count it a victory whenever they disable an enemy, whether in the east or west or south. The allies have been a long time learning the simple truth that if they do not work together they will perish separately. At last they have achieved unity of command in a supreme general staff, and the passing of Sir William Robertson is evidence that Great Britain is doing her share to make the union of the allies an accomplished fact. This is the best possible assurance that the allies will win the war.

*Tuesday, February 19, 1918*

## Germany's Unconquerable Foe

**E**VERY disappointment encountered by the American people in their preparations for the smashing of the enemy merely intensifies their determination to accept no result except victory.

Every setback to the United States emphasizes the importance of reaching the point where there shall be no setback.

The only menace to the peace and happiness of the United States is the German system of assassinating other nations. With that menace removed the United States can easily and in its own time dispose of every question that may arise. Until that menace is removed no other question is of vital importance.

Nothing that is under discussion here or abroad, nothing that Americans can be interested in, is of such importance as the continued independence of the United States, without asking the consent of any other nation.

Until the German war power shall have been overpowered and compelled to give binding guarantees to respect the sovereign independence and national rights of the United States, there will be no peace, there cannot be peace, and there should not be peace.

If the German people wish to have peace with America, they can assist by overthrowing their insane rulers, taking control of their own government and giving the guarantees which America demands. If the German people will not do this, they must suffer the consequences of the hardship and defeat that await Germany.

Americans are keenly sympathetic toward the allied nations and toward all peoples that are striving for national existence and independence. But there is one thing that Americans regard with still more interest, and that is the unimpaired integrity and independence of the United States. If the Germans wish to know why the Americans will not quit this war without victory, no matter what other nations may do, let them consider why this nation was founded in the New World.

It is not written in the stars of the firmament that the New World should wear shackles. Every obstacle that human or infernal malice could devise has been interposed in the New World to prevent the free operation of the principle of government with consent of the



governed, and that principle has swept them all aside from Cape Barrow to Cape Horn. The New World and its manhood are dedicated to that principle now and forever.

For this reason it is possible for Americans to look with patience upon the unfolding of the fatal power that resides in liberty. The mistakes, blunders, passions, strikes, profiteering and all the other setbacks are minor matters, and every eddy that swirls about them is but evidence of the deep momentum of the nation. Down in his heart, below all the surface agitations of the day, every American under the Stars and Strips knows that this nation will never lay down the sword until the enemy asks for peace on America's terms.

The stamp of insanity was placed forever on the murderous brains of Germany's saber-rattlers when they assailed the United States and other nations of the New World. Whatever Europe may say or do, this hemisphere will look to Berlin only for one object—to find and destroy the assassins of liberty. The German rulers may have enlarged the boundaries of the German empire and may have remained in power to enjoy the fruits of their crimes if they had not assailed the free governments of the New World. On that day and by that act they set in motion an irresistible force that will not rest until it has demolished the evil power that challenges the right of men to govern themselves.

Presidents and congresses may come and go, and mistakes and quarrels may mark the process of armoring and massing and hurling this force upon Germany, but the nation that was not born to die or wear chains will determine its own fate and that of the enemy.

*Wednesday, February 20, 1918*

## Powers United in Arms

THE dog-in-the-manger rôle played by the military clique in England against the interests of the allies was fully exposed in the house of commons yesterday by Mr. Lloyd George. The critics of the supreme war council were placed in a most uncomfortable position, and all that Mr. Asquith could say was that he wished Mr. Lloyd George had spoken sooner, and that criticism should not be silenced. If Mr. Asquith had gone so far as to attack the Versailles plan he would have placed himself in the position of attacking the United States and the other allies, all of them having pressed for the creation of the unified war command.

The American delegation, said Mr. Lloyd George, presented an unanswerable argument in favor of consolidation of control. It was this argument, backed by the sorry experiences of the allies under the rule of separate strategy, which induced the allies at Versailles to endow the war council with supreme executive powers in the strategic direction of the allied armies.

Sir William Robertson emerges from this controversy with irreparable damage to a brilliant reputation. He endeavored to disable the authority of the Versailles council by making its British representative a deputy of the chief of staff. This attempt having been overruled, Gen. Robertson refused to act on the war council and also refused to remain as chief of staff with curtailed authority. His real aim appears to have been the unhorsing of Premier Lloyd George and the extension of general staff control over the entire government, war cabinet, war council and all. Absurd as this idea may appear at this distance, it did not appear absurd to the military clique that had already arrogated to itself so much power in London. It is well that the late chief of staff is superseded by a soldier the peer of Robertson in ability and his superior in sense of the fitness of things.

Premier Lloyd George could not explain to parliament the details of the composition of the supreme war council, because the subject involves consideration of plans now on foot to checkmate the enemy. It is sufficient for the public in allied countries to know that the powers arrayed against Mitteleuropa are now united in arms, with a central military body directing military operations. This great achievement, so simple in theory and so difficult in practice, is the best pos-

sible assurance that Germany will lose the war. Her paramount advantage over her enemies has been central control and direction of her armed forces. This advantage is now neutralized by the allies, who employ the same tactics. It now becomes more than ever a struggle of resources against resources, and on such a basis the allies are assured of victory. The hastening of victory depends upon the energy of the allies in developing and employing their resources of men and material.

All the ferocity, all the ingenuity, and all the strength of the German war power is to be hurled against the allied front in the west. The conflict is inevitable. Germany cannot much longer avoid the casting of the die. Her dynastic, economic and social integrity depend upon escape from the toils that entangle her. The savage beast will test out every weak point along the front. It is necessary that the allies shall become one compact, mobile force, capable of instantaneous action anywhere along the line. With that mobility and unified action assured, the enemy is securely trapped and will accelerate his own collapse by the violence of his exertions.

The struggle will be long. Three months are required to prepare for a single day's battle on the modern scale. The forthcoming offensive will be a series of battles lasting probably until next autumn. Germany has at least 500,000 more men on the western front than she has ever had before. The allies have more men than the enemy, but the disparity is not overwhelming.

It is a comfort to know that France, Great Britain and America are as one in meeting the coming attack.



*Tuesday, February 26, 1918*

## The Future of Russia

GERMANY accepts the abject proposal of the bolsheviki, which is that the representatives of the Russian "government" will go to Brest-Litovsk to sign a peace treaty on the terms laid down by Germany. Thus, so far as the German masters and the Russian marplots can arrange it, there will be no further fighting. The bolsheviki are to withdraw from western Russia and turn the country over to the conqueror. The army is to be demobilized, the fleet interned, and Petrograd is to be delivered over as a hostage to the Germans.

The world will never believe that this surrender of Russian territory and honor was made by honest men. The belief is firmly fixed that the leaders of the bolsheviki, the men who really contrived Russia's downfall, are traitors, in the pay of Germany.

The betrayal is of stupendous consequence to the world. It changes the course of history in every nation. It realigns the forces of this war and tends to prolong the struggle beyond the ken of statesmanship. It aggrandizes Germany enormously, and injects into the famished and exhausted German spirit a fresh exultation and a hope of eventual victory over the great western allies.

All this is evident. But we do not admit, as some American newspapers hasten to assert, that Russia is down and out, a mere territorial appendix of Germany.

On the contrary, we believe that Russia will repudiate the attempted betrayal, throw off the bolsheviki, organize a stable popular government, and ultimately resume the war against Germany in an attempt to throw the invader out of Poland and contiguous Russian territory.

The pusillanimity, treason and stupidity exhibited in the betrayal of Russia are not characteristic of any brave and liberty-loving people. The Russians are brave and liberty-loving, as has been proved thousands of times. They are peculiarly attached to their home land. They know what it means to be ground under the heel of arbitrary power. The suggestion that they will submit to German control does violence to Russian history, Russian nature and Russian aspirations.

But, it is argued, the Germans are organized and the Russians are unorganized. Germany will fasten her grip upon Russia before

the Russians can organize. True, the Germans will have their own way for a while; but only for a while. Two factors point with unerring certainty to the failure of Germany in Russia: First, the fact that Germany never has displayed and does not possess the ability to govern an alien people to the satisfaction of the governed; and second, the fact that the control of 180,000,000 human beings under German methods is an impossible task, except with the consent of the governed.

Alsace-Lorraine has been kept bound to the German chariot by overwhelming brute force immediately at hand; but the binding of 180,000,000 people occupying one-seventh of the habitable earth is another problem.

Americans are told that an attempt to occupy and pacify Mexico would require a force of 200,000 to 500,000 men if the natives should resort to guerrilla warfare. Under the same conditions, how many Germans would be required to occupy and pacify Russia?

Any attempt by the patriots of Russia to organize and throw off the Germans ought to have the assistance of the allies. This assistance may not be given until the bolsheviki are thrust out of power, but it is to be reckoned with. Japan is threatened with a deadly enemy in Asia, and cannot fail to take steps to stiffen Russian opposition to the German advance. America can resume the delivery of war material to Russia whenever a provisional government worthy of respect has been established. The other allies can aid effectively.

The sanity of Russia may be quickly restored by the shock of her catastrophe. The recovery and the rehabilitation may be remarkably rapid. Russia at its worst will at least keep Germany extremely busy, and Russia at its best may yet cut the coils of the German constrictor at a dozen places.

*Thursday, February 28, 1918*

## No Peace Without Freedom

**I**N SOME quarters the delusion is cherished that somehow, by trick and device, a peace will be patched up between the allies and the German combination. The hope is entertained that by indirection the great belligerents will agree, not definitely settling all points in detail, but wiping everything off the slate by a magnificent declaration that everybody was mistaken in going to war.

The thoughts of those who put peace above right are not clearly defined as to the terms of the general peace that they see in mirage, but their ideas as to the understanding to be reached by Germany and the United States are quite clear. They believe that the United States will judiciously keep silence regarding the rights of other nations, small or great, but particularly small; that America now sees that in demanding the demolition of German militarism it was asking too much, and will be satisfied with some assurance that this militarism will not be directed against America; that there is no grievance against Austria-Hungary; that it is not the business of the United States to remake the map of Europe; and that an expression of good will from the German people would be sufficient to wipe out all desire on this side to carry on the war.

In short, these American defeatists are willing to purchase peace now at the expense of American rights. For the sake of peace they would sacrifice the allies.

These hopes are vain. Peace cannot be had, even if all the pacifists and poltroons in the United States should come out into the open, in naked shame, avowing their cowardice and treason.

The bolsheviki of Russia have just tried that plan of buying peace. If American pacifists wish an object lesson, let them look at Russia. Have the bolsheviki gained peace by throwing away territory, liberty and honor? No; the booty gained by the Huns merely whets their insatiable appetite, and kindles in their remorseless hearts the thought that other nations possessing territory, liberty and honor will jettison these precious possessions if approached as the bolsheviki were approached, with a mixture of force and fraud.

Every patriot in America is thankful that the war is making the breach between this nation and Germany too wide to be bridged by pacifist trickery, commercial bargaining, or cowardly surrender.



The war must go on until the sword that threatens America's liberty is beaten out of Germany's grasp, or until America, beaten, asks the lords of Berlin to extend their sway over the New World.

The United States is not the pawn of pacifists, to deliver to Germany with the "understanding" that Germany will forbear from subjugating this hemisphere. The United States is beyond the point where it could honorably say to France, "We wish you well, but we cannot fight by your side." This nation cannot now tell the allies that it will withdraw if it can arrange private terms with the enemy.

Once for all time, under the eye of Almighty God, the sword that was forged by Washington and France for the protection of liberty in this hemisphere is now drawn for the effective assertion and establishment of liberty throughout the earth. When the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs started this war they set in motion the forces that cannot return to quiescence until mankind is under the universal system of government by consent of the governed. The terrible power for evil exercised by the enemy is excelled by only one power on earth, and that is the determination of men to be free. They are now compelled to act upon that determination. They must be free or die.

It is more than unpatriotic to desire the end of this war before humanity shall have become free. It is impious. The heroic souls of the past send their message down. The blessing of heaven is upon the banners of the allied nations that are striking for the establishment of self-government among men. In the midst of this army of banners is the Stars and Stripes. The Americans marching under that flag are the hope of the human race.

*Saturday, March 9, 1918*

## Germany Called to Account

WITHOUT minimizing any of the advantages which Germany has gained by the temporary conquest of Russia and Roumania, it is well to take a broad view of the situation in which the belligerents find themselves. Is Germany now so much more powerful that the outcome of the war is rendered doubtful?

Let it be granted that Germany can help herself to anything movable in Russia. Let it be assumed that Germany can actually rule Russia, at any rate for the next year or two, to the extent that the Russians will not be able to revolt. Let it be assumed that Japan will not come to the aid of the allies. What is the situation in which Germany finds herself?

The outstanding fact, paramount over all others, is that Germany is unable to escape a life and death battle with three enemies who are impregnable armed against her two great weapons, corruption and brute force. Two of these enemies have been tested by Germany's strongest blows and Germany has failed to bring them to their knees. The third is an enemy more populous and resourceful than the other two, and its strength is fresh and unwearied. Broadly speaking, it has not yet begun to draw upon its immense reservoirs of man power and natural resources. Its war passions are not yet aroused to the point where obstacles to victory are brushed aside like chaff, whether these obstacles be enemy forces or misfits in the domestic war machine.

Six months ago The Post observed that even if Germany should completely disable Russia and gain access to all Russian resources, she would still have to face the United States and defeat this nation in battle before she could permanently hold an inch of soil that is not her own. That is the case now. The downfall of Russia has not enabled Germany to extricate herself from the inevitable. She must give an account to the civilized world for the crimes she has committed. The agents of the world, executing the summons upon Germany, are France, Great Britain and the United States. There is no possibility of dodging this summons.

Germany tried by the strategy of the tiger's leap to pounce upon and tear France to pieces. She failed. Then she massed her brute force and attempted to hack France to death at Verdun. She failed.

Germany is not now assembling her dumb human cattle in France because she loves to feel the touch of French cold steel. She gathers her last forces because she knows, with a robber's cunning, that she is in a trap and must fight her way out or die.

Germany will fight with all the ferocity of a tiger. She will use every weapon, every stratagem, and every ounce of strength she possesses. But she will fight in vain. The France that balked her twice stands indomitable, better armed and better skilled than ever. The British armies are there, stronger than ever, keener for fight, more advantageously posted than before. The Americans are there in respectable numbers, the advance guard of an army that will never cease to march upon Germany until victory sounds the call for peace.

That is the situation. It foretells nothing but glory and victory for the hosts that are battling for the right. They are armed with a spirit that Germany does not understand and cannot find weapons against. Intrigue is as powerless as bullets in trying to destroy this chief arm of the allies. For once in the sad history of mankind, right is supported by might, and liberty is armed with death. Every lover of liberty throughout the universe should rejoice that the hour is at hand when the powers of evil will no longer be able to elude the grasp of the avenger.



*Wednesday, March 20, 1918*

### Before the Battle

**A**LL SIGNS point to the early beginning of a tremendous struggle between the allies and the enemy on the western front. Preliminary bombardments and raids are becoming more frequent and more violent. The energies of both sets of belligerents are detached from other fields and concentrated more and more upon the crucial line that separates Germany and civilization. There, in France and Flanders, will be fought the final battle which will determine the fate of all the nations. The opening guns are even now rumbling, like thunder on the horizon, and the flocks of aviators are flying about like leaves before the storm.

France, England, Belgium and America stand on free soil, under the open sky, and await the onslaught of the hordes that are seeking to destroy the right of men to govern themselves. The Hohenzollern and Hapsburg minions, numbering millions of trained troops, are obedient to the will of the war lords. The Hohenzollern-Hapsburg legions are trained to believe that they are not free—that their happiness consists in being governed by half divine individuals who inherit crowns bestowed upon their ancestors by Almighty God. These rulers are demigods to their deluded and soul-stunted subjects. The rulers have told their dupes that Germany is to rule the world; that incalculable spoil is to be theirs, after glorious victories.

The absence of individualism in the German hordes increases their efficiency in the mass, under skillful leadership. The battle will be desperate, since the world outlaws stake their all upon the issue. If they should win, the world and all its spoils will be at their feet. If they should lose, their crowns will fall, their dynasties will disappear, their hold upon their dupes will be broken, and government of the people, by tyrants, for tyrants will perish from the earth.

All honor to the gallant allied armies and the American forces that are going into battle! The spirit of the Americans is admirable. They are amenable to discipline, eager to learn, full of cheerful courage, silent under petty annoyances and devoted solely to the desire to make their mark upon the enemy. Instances of individual heroism now coming from the American trenches are not surprising. They confirm the expectations of the people at home. The quick-witted youths from this country will see and learn much in a short time,

and from their observations will come suggestions for more effective fighting.

Every man, woman and child in America has a duty to perform from this time forth, a duty that cannot be honorably or safely disregarded. This duty is to sustain the army at the front by every means in their power. Individuals cannot shirk this duty or put it off upon the "government." The people are the government. If they do not help the boys at the front the boys will not be helped. The government will transport food and war material only as fast as the people produce them. Ships will not build themselves; the people must build them. Food will not go to France and Italy and England to sustain those peoples unless Americans make it their individual business to see that food is created and saved.

The enemy works with frenzied energy in every branch of effort. He is creating and saving food, building submarines and airplanes, drilling men, drafting women and children for labor, and making every endeavor to defeat America and her allies. What Germany has accomplished by single-minded devotion and industry is marvelous. What America can accomplish with one-half of Germany's devotion and industry is still more marvelous. But there is a vast difference. Germany has actually performed a marvel, while America's greater marvel remains to be performed. One is a fact, the other a hope.

The unconquerable spirit of America must be roused to a greater pitch. The self-denial and dauntless devotion that created America must now be exercised to save America. The fate of the free world hangs upon the will and spirit of the people of America. After a hundred years of boasting that liberty's home is in America, the powers of evil now challenge America to prove that free men in a free government can maintain their liberties. The people of the United States are literally compelled to test by battle whether their republic is to live or die.

*Monday, March 25, 1918*

### The Critical Hour

THE driving force of the German attack, tremendous as it is, diminished perceptibly yesterday. Although the enemy forces gained some ground, it was less than the gains of Friday and Saturday. By tonight, at yesterday's failing rate, the German momentum will be spent, and the gray legions will be marching to death against immovable guns.

The German high command may be preparing another blow at another point on the line. That is, the fighting west of St. Quentin may be a feint covering a still more formidable assault elsewhere. There is solid ground, however, for the belief that the next 48 hours will definitely develop the fact that the German empire has struck its deadliest blow, with all its might, and has failed.

The developments of Sunday did not make absolutely clear the objective of the enemy. This objective is either Paris or the channel ports, as the battle stands. Some of the reports tend to establish the conviction that the enemy's real object is to flank the British army by driving between the British and the French and gaining the channel coast, say at the mouth of the Somme. If this should be accomplished, the British army would be in a serious plight, cut off from reinforcements from the Franco-American armies, and in danger of being cut off from Calais and Boulogne. The surrender of the British and Belgian armies would be in sight.

If Paris is the objective, the fighting must soon take a trend toward Soissons, and the French forces will quickly be engaged. The Franco-American scrimmage with the enemy yesterday does not appear to have been of much magnitude, although the German report states that the allies suffered heavy losses. For vanity's sake Emperor William and Hindenburg would like to capture Paris, which is a standing mockery of German military power so long as it is uncaptured. The German leaders therefore may be tempted to turn aside from the enemy they hate most, the British, in order to make their long postponed visit to the boulevards.

They are welcome to try to visit Paris. The Parisians and other Frenchmen are waiting to receive them. The Marne still flows to the sea under the tricolor of France, and there is a battlefield there which the Germans cannot have forgotten.



As Premier Clemenceau's newspaper remarks, every shell hurled against the French drives more deeply into them the determination to fight to victory. The fighting hammers them into a harder and more compact mass, capable of greater resistance, and more likely to shatter into bits the hammerhead that beats against it.

All honor to the indomitable spirit of France and England! They are glorious allies, brothers standing shoulder to shoulder in defense of civilization! America should be electrified by the news from France. The guns whose roar is heard in London are firing at the heart of America. American boys died yesterday in defense of the Stars and Stripes. The brutal trampers upon human rights dared to strike down the boys from American homes who went forth to defend liberty. If the manhood of the United States were sunk deeply in lust of money, if American women were voluptuous slaves of luxury and sin, if American youth were dissipated and vain puppets, still the old spirit of '76 would rise at the sight of the German brutes trampling upon the American flag. Thank God, America is not a decadent nation. It has a right to stand by the head of those virile nations, France and England, and strike death blows at the enemy of freedom.

Americans! Pay no attention to mistakes of the past. Your faces are to the future. Do not pick flaws. Never mind the critics and the fault-finders. Your enemy is before you. Your boys are facing him. As the German hordes sweep forward the blood of Americans is spilled. It is for you, here at home, to see that every drop of this blood shall count in the victory of liberty.

America's time has come. She must make good her liberty or go under.

*Wednesday, March 27, 1918*

## The Tide of Battle

**A**NOTHER day of unprecedented fighting by the great armies on the western front has closed with the welcome news that the Germans have been checked, that Americans are fighting shoulder to shoulder with their allies, and that French reinforcements are solidifying the allies' stand west of Roye.

It may be that the next 24 hours will witness the turning of the tide of battle. Soon, in any event, the allies will counter-attack. The Germans have penetrated into the allied lines as far as safety will permit. If it is the plan of the supreme war council to fall back as far as possible, in order to extend the German line and open the way for a more effective counter attack, the appearance of the allied reserve forces may be looked for within a few hours.

The imagination recoils from the picture immediately behind the German advance. So furious has been the assault, and so deadly has been the British fire, that tens of thousands of wounded Germans must have been left in the wake of the invaders, and are now suffering and dying after lying from one to five days without water, food or attention. The imperial maniac whose crown is in danger is not only slaughtering his men by the tens of thousands, but he is driving on without paying the slightest attention to the wounded and dying. The dictates of humanity, which are powerful even on the battlefield, make no impresssion on the madman who slaughters friend and foe alike in his frenzy. The sun and moon have never looked down upon a ghastlier or more appalling sight than that which unrolls itself in the path of the Germans. The German nation will feel these losses for a century to come. The mad emperor is literally amputating Germany.

Well, let them die. German science, religion and culture have culminated in a race that worships evil. The German people deliberately turned from good to evil. They exalted falsehood. They set up the god of brute force in place of the Lord God of Israel and the Redeemer. They applauded the monster whose diseased body and mind proved him to be a true Hohenzollern. They supported him in every effort he made to drench the world in blood. They shared in the spoils, and eagerly robbed their neighbors. They committed themselves absolutely to the plan of conquest by the sword. They

have gathered strength by evil, and with drunken confidence they are now striking at the heart of civilization in the hope of making the whole world slave to Germany.

Where are the pacifists and cowards in the United States who dare look on the scene in France, and then oppose the arming of this nation of free men? Where are the skulkers and slackers, the defeatists and the disloyalists? Let them consider what is going on. Has it not been plain from the first that the United States must fight the German people to a finish? It is American *vs.* German, individually and collectively. Either Germany or the United States must go down. The battle may be won for America by its indomitable allies, France and England. If not, if the present battle ends in German gains, the entire American nation will be face to face with the terrible reality of a death struggle or surrender.

The tremendous unorganized power of the New World must go into the fight. This nation, colossally stronger than Germany in every fighting resource, must forge its weapons of death on a scale worthy of its might. Assuming that England and France will gloriously beat the German hordes back, nevertheless the allies will be forspent with their exhausting efforts. They will be short of supplies and food. Out of the inexhaustible stores of America must go the stuff for the strengthening of the nations that battle against our enemy. Out of the manhood of this nation must go the power that will turn the scales of war and enable combined civilization to strike the fatal blow.

Steel your hearts, Americans! Broaden your understanding; strive to see the whole truth; put away childish things. Your affairs are nothing, your liberties are gone, your country is a dream unless your head understands, your heart resolves, and your hand acts.



*Thursday, March 28, 1918*

### Liberty's Flags Flying

FOR a solid week the most perfectly organized and heavily reinforced army in the history of the world has been striking on the breastplate of civilization, frantically endeavoring to make a breach through which to drive a mortal blow. The onslaught has been so terrible that the defending force has yielded ground. But the defense has also been so firm that the enemy has not made a breach. He is now lying outstretched, breathing hard, unable to gather force for another leap, and visibly vulnerable to a retaliatory stroke.

The immediate objective of the enemy is now Amiens, if it was not his objective from the first. The battle has developed unexpected tough spots, as battles always do, and the enemy's main forces have been swerved aside when they expected to break through. Taken as a whole, however, the German drive has been direct. It has conformed to the invariable rule of drives in this war, wherever the defending forces were strong and stubborn, the rule being that unless the impact of the first day's onrush fails to demoralize the defenders, the drive as a whole is a failure. The ground gained is a cruelly small return for the number of lives lost in gaining it. In the present instance the battle ground is mere desert, worthless to either side except as a bridge to something beyond.

"Put me back at Cambrai and give me back my legions," may be even now the secret cry of the German emperor, when he feels the recoil of his armies dashing in vain against the ramparts of the world. His forces stand in a land of ashes and dead men's bones, victors of a few rods of burial ground; and on the ground are strewn as many Germans, dying and dead of wounds and thirst, as there are buried in the twice-fought field.

Between the German dragon and its wrath stand the panting but invincible heroes whose breasts are the walls of liberty. Behind them is Paris, and behind Paris is London, and behind London is Washington. Americans are among the defenders, and somewhere in the midst of fire, smoke and rain of steel are the Stars and Stripes, flying with fierce joy in the tempest. Small in numbers, but dauntless against any odds, these Americans are the couriers of the millions that must and will go across seas to carry the flag forward.

The world is still stupefied by the events of the last four years. America, distant from the battle, is even yet unable to understand the

scope of the task that is imposed upon her. She has been drowsy, misled by false estimates, credulous, stupidly overconfident at one moment and absurdly pessimistic the next, engrossed in trifles, and persistently clinging to the notion that the war is an accidental storm that will soon blow over without reaching her. Truth has been suppressed and lies have been told by persons in authority. The people have been lulled into ignorant confidence or shocked by grotesque exaggerations. But the spirit that makes men free lives in America, and the power to maintain freedom resides in America. Tremendous as today's battle may be, and however terrible the danger, it is simple truth to say that the battle between America and Germany is still to come. It will end only with the prostration of Germany or the collapse of the United States, because it is the irreconcilable conflict between freedom and slavery.

Every American heart should go out to ever-glorious France and heroic England for the sacrifice they are now making in the cause of liberty. All honor to their gallant sons, those who now stand fighting our fight, and those who have shed their blood for us! God stir the hearts of the Americans who have in their charge the arming of this nation for battle! God grant that America's trusted commander shall quickly amass the conquering forces of this republic, on a scale worthy of the New World, and hurl them with merciless force upon the enemy!

*Friday, March 29, 1918*

## The Enemy's Losing Fight

UNDER the keen trained eye of Gen. Foch, the master military mind of Europe, the allied army held in reserve by the supreme war council is getting into action. Its first contact inflicted a gash six miles long and two miles deep on the left flank of the enemy's deep salient. The French penetration is near Noyon, at a point calculated to cut deeply and fatally into the outstretched enemy. An experienced surgeon, employing his scalpel with intent to reach a vital spot by the shortest route, could not excel the skill displayed by Gen. Foch in making the counter attack at the time and place he has chosen.

The allies preserve the necessary silence regarding the size and composition of the reserve army. In this game of life and death of nations, with savage nation slayers as antagonists, coming events must be screened as carefully as the secrets of nature itself. The peoples of allied countries must draw upon their resources of patience and optimism to eke out the scarcity of information regarding the plans for checking the enemy. Let them bear in mind that the unconquerable spirit of France and England is the soul of the defense, and that its body is composed of superior artillery, stalwart and quick-witted men, and abundant supplies maintained by a short and well-served transport line. It should not be forgotten that when Mr. Lloyd George and others refer to "superior numbers" of Germans, the reference is to the point of attack, and not to the whole western front. It may be that the allied counter attack now under way will find the Germans at that point vastly outnumbered.

The activity by the Germans near Arras is not unexpected. The purposes of this attack doubtless include a desire to destroy the British army, which may as well be dismissed as a Teuton rainbow vision; a desire to drive into the British a new pincer jaw, which might be swung southward to connect with the jaw now extending toward Amiens, taking in all of the British forces in that region, and a desire to prevent the British from diverting troops to the Amiens section or from making a counter attack against the northern flank of the German forces now stretched out from Arras to Albert.

Field Marshal Haig may be depended upon to keep out of traps and to spring one or two himself. He is in touch with the French defense army and the Franco-British reserve army. The allies are



#### THE ENEMY'S LOSING FIGHT

doing magnificent teamwork. Nowhere have they been so mistaken as to sacrifice men in an unnecessary stand against locally superior numbers, and everywhere they have kept in contact with the enemy and collected a death tax that is as debilitating as cutting his arteries.

The battleground between Cambrai and Albert is a scene of appalling desolation, but still more appalling is the harvest of German dead and wounded gathered by the allies on that field. The dead vegetation and gashed earth can be restored to France, but the dead and dying Germans can never be restored to Germany. The imperial maniac and his accomplices are mutilating and bleeding the German nation in their frantic and vain assault upon the strongholds of human liberty. Those strongholds will never be taken by mortals, for they are the deep-laid foundations upon which man has labored toward his Maker. The protection of heaven is upon and around the towers and foundation stones of those nations that are now fighting the victorious fight for freedom. Were the German empire twice as savage, and its war machinery twice as powerful, it could not batter down the structures which represent all that mankind has achieved since the birth of Christ.

In strict truth, Germany's legions are dashing their lives out against an invisible impregnable rock, the rock of liberty. It is the human soul that they are attacking. Their defeat was ordained and prepared for them from the foundation of the world. It is in the nature of humanity that it shall destroy its enemy. France and England are merely the advance guards of continents and hemispheres that are moving to save human freedom.

*Saturday, March 30, 1918*

### United for Triumph

ON ONE vital point the allies and Germany are agreed—that there will be no peace until there is victory on the western front. Germany is trying to win a German peace by attacking the three strongest powers in the world, which draw their resources from the ends of the earth. Knowing that he cannot win if the struggle is prolonged until the United States has delivered in France an army commensurate with the resources of this nation, the enemy is striking now, while he is at the climax of his powers as a result of the Russian collapse. He is using the only possible method available to a man or a nation that must break through a ring of enemies; that is, he is opposing his flesh to steel, hoping that the violence of the rush will carry him through before the slaughter becomes total.

Germany knows that the present battle is crucial and climactic. Hence the fury that marks the German attack. All that has been gained is nothing if Germany loses now. All the blood of Germans spilled, all the booty captured, all the conquered territory occupied, all the crimes committed profit Germany nothing unless the great allies are beaten. The spoils of Asia might be piled upon the loot of eastern and southern Europe and Russia, and the name of Germany might be a terror from Belgium to Bangkok, but it will be emptiness and vanity if the three great defenders and avengers of civilization are moving against Berlin to demolish the throne of the Hohenzollerns. Thus upon this battle hangs all that has gone before.

The allied powers are acting in better harmony than ever before. The terrible menace of the German has compelled them to throw away all other considerations for the sake of common victory. The fact that they have done this, that they have arrived at this conclusion, is double insurance of triumph. The message delivered by Gen. Pershing to Gen. Foch expressed the fixed purpose of the nation that draws its strength from the illimitable resources of the New World. President Wilson's congratulations to Gen. Foch breathe confidence in victory through unity of the allies. Under command of the strategist who was Gen. Joffre's right arm at the battle of the Marne, the allies are now in a position to cut to pieces the enemy force that occupies the territory between St. Quentin and Montdidier.

Bad weather has put a damper upon the fighting, although both of the huge antagonists are carrying on operations that would be

called battles in ordinary times. Whether the Germans will persist in trying to bore their way further toward Amiens, in spite of their horrible losses, or whether they will mark time there and seek to make new inroads elsewhere, they are in for checks, reverses, counter attacks and eventual defeat in either event. Their lines are stretched out so far that their transport difficulties are bearing them down. They are ahead of the protection of their heavier guns, and under the accumulated fire of allied guns. So desperately have the Germans tried to break through that they have wasted the bulk of their resources. The allies have saved their reserve army and can now employ it to deliver a sledgehammer stroke at the enemy's weakest point. Gen. Foch may be depended upon to find the enemy's jugular vein.

A few more days and the world ought to be free from the possibility of German victory. On the heels of that welcome news will come the successive announcements of German reverses and the inevitable defeat. The hours are big with fateful events. The decisive moment when the German flood is to break against the rock of civilization is seemingly at hand. Days and weeks may pass before the flood is perceptibly lower, but the allies will surely feel, in the tension of battle, just when the climax has been reached and passed. From that moment it will be the task of the trustees of liberty to thrust back the defilers of France and Belgium; to beat them down to exhaustion and surrender. When the Hun finds he is beaten he will assist the allies to make the collapse complete, for he is yellow at heart, a worshiper of brute force whose religion leaves him in the lurch when he is overmatched. When the German force begins to collapse, look out for an epidemic of suicides, from the emperor down to the beastliest sergeant.



*Wednesday, April 3, 1918*

## Facing Hohenzollern

THE integration of 100,000 or more American soldiers into the British and French armies on the western front, to meet the emergency created by the German assault, is highly praised by the British and French press and public. The willingness of the American authorities to merge their regiments for the time being in allied units is accepted as the best of evidence that the United States is in the war for the sole purpose of defeating Germany, and is not actuated by any false ideas of military glory or exaggerated national self-esteem. America's President knows that the American troops are not yet sufficiently trained as an army, the generals know it, and the soldiers know it. They are all, however, anxious to share in the fighting, and the arrangement just effected is most gratifying to the American army and people.

The United States army in France will be far more efficient as a result of its service with the allied forces than if it should remain as a distinct force. In due time, as the army increases in size and efficiency, it can gradually draw unto itself all American regiments.

There is something more than sentimental pride among Americans when they contemplate the scene spread out in Picardy. They are inspired by pride, it is true, but they also look upon the situation with a keenly practical eye. They desire above all things the early defeat of the enemy. The killing of Germans is the business that called Americans to France, and the sooner they attended to this business, and the more thoroughly they accomplish it, the better for all concerned. One hundred thousand Americans mean an access of confidence, pluck, steadfastness and fighting strength to encourage the indomitable armies of France and England. The American flag will be always in sight during the battles, and it will convey a message of loyalty and victory that will reach the heart of every soldier in the allied ranks.

The giant antagonists are preparing for another struggle. The enemy is bringing up big guns and massing his divisions in the hope of taking Amiens or cutting the Paris-Amiens railroad. The allies are determined that he shall do neither. They will fight to the last ditch rather than fall back from Amiens. The battle clouds now forming are blacker and more full of wrath than any tempest that has burst

during this war. If Hohenzollern and his captains were desperate on March 20, when they struck with all their might in the hope of breaking through the allies, they are doubly desperate now, having failed to break through and being face to face with the consequences of defeat, with all that defeat means in Germany. Hohenzollern will pour out lives like a torrent for the sake of saving his crown and his dynasty. He has Germany to squander, and he will squander it rather than lose his crown and his life.

He is at his last stand. He is so deep in blood that it is easier to wade through than to turn back. He cannot turn back if he would. The civilized world is at his throat. Murders innumerable cry for vengeance. Nations slain are rising to haunt him. Belgium accuses him, Serbia points a bloody finger at him, Poland's millions cry out against him. Blood will have blood until the debt is paid. Justice wields the avenging sword. Hohenzollern appealed to the sword, and he and his house must perish by the sword.

The slaying of Americans and the attempt upon the life of America places the United States in the list of those nations that are called upon by inexorable fate to destroy Hohenzollern and his system of blood and murder. The nations cannot escape their duty. It is a sin to delay the performance of it. The days in which Hohenzollern sees the sun are days of monstrous and abominable crimes against mankind. May those days be few!

*Saturday, April 6, 1918*

## End of the First Year

ONE YEAR ago today the United States went to war against Germany, and began the vast and complex task of organizing the nation for making war on the scale made necessary by the enemy's power. The most difficult part of the task was and still is the awakening of the American people to the true nature and scope of the danger that confronts them. For many months the notion prevailed that the allied nations would "look after the Germans," thus enabling the United States to shirk the greater part of its duty. It seemed impossible to shake the conviction in American minds that the war would end within a few months by some means other than hard fighting.

On April 6, 1917, many Americans believed that the mere declaration of war by the United States would bring hostilities in Europe to an early end. They were convinced that Germany would not dare to continue the war with the United States added to the list of enemies. Others cherished the notion that assistance in the blockade of Germany and the financial aid given to the allies would constitute the share of the United States in the war. They did not believe that an American army would be needed in France.

On April 6, 1918, the American who does not believe that the United States must exert its full strength for victory is a poor citizen, intellectually and otherwise. The vast majority of Americans are now girded up mentally, awake to the situation, eager to help, and looking ahead toward victory after a hard fight. American young men, especially, have developed a wonderful spirit in the year that closes today. The slouching, dissipated, impudent lout who seemed to typify young America has disappeared, and in his place there is an erect, active, courteous and serious-minded American in the uniform of his country and with the ideals of his country stamped upon his heart. This one improvement is worth all that the war has cost up to the present moment. It is now safe to say that Germany cannot count upon American degeneration and dissipation to help destroy liberty.

The year has seen wonderful development toward war organization in many branches, and exasperating delay in other branches. This newspaper and many others have been in possession of reliable information which might have been published for the purpose of



discrediting officials who failed to measure up to high standards. But some of these men were evidently the victims of national inertia and governmental neglect, and the press has usually deemed it wise to refrain from severe criticism when it was plain that officials were doing their best. The first year of war ends with an infinitely better national spirit, and therefore official neglect or inefficiency will be inexcusable in the year now beginning.

The United States is now in a position industrially to overwhelm the enemy with all the weapons of war. Germany's boasted resourcefulness in manufacture is dwarfed by the giant equipment of the United States. What Germany has accomplished in 40 years of secret preparation the United States is now ready to excel in one year. It does not matter what weapon is mentioned—ship, cannon, airplane, rifle, machine gun or bomb—the United States during 1918 can and will pass Germany's output, and in some particulars has already done so. The preparations made during 1917 and in 1918 up to date have not been visible always, but they have made it possible for the year 1918 to witness the transportation to Europe of enormous quantities of war material.

The enemy is striking with desperate determination to break down the allies. The German emperor is at the critical period of his life and his dynasty. If he cannot defeat the allied armies this summer he must die and his throne will fall. Fate draws remorselessly the fatal net around his accursed house. He drew the sword against civilization and liberty. In self-defense their sword will pierce him through. In the struggle there is no room for nice distinctions or polite considerations. As Hohenzollern goes down in blood his throne will topple also, and the seed of the Hohenzollerns will be trodden under foot. If German mobs, torch in hand, set fire to the Hohenzollern palaces and shoot down the Hohenzollerns themselves, the tumult will be merely a repetition of the innumerable reactions recorded in history.

America moves into her proper place as a full partner of France and England, the defenders of civilization. The present assault will shatter itself against the unconquerable hearts of France and England. It is the glory of the United States that American lads stand in battle, with their flag above them. The three nations are now delivering the death blow to the hopes of Hohenzollern. He cannot break them down. Let him struggle. By his own efforts he hastens the day of his doom.

*Thursday, April 11, 1918*

## The End Is Victory

THE attack upon the British lines between Armentieres and Messines is apparently the beginning of an operation comparable to the tremendous drive toward Amiens. The Germans gained  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles and have captured many guns and prisoners. Armentieres is placed in an awkward position, and in the meantime the artillery onslaught grows greater instead of weaker. The Germans seem to be determined upon nothing less than smashing through the British line, if reckless slaughter of men can accomplish the feat.

At last accounts, however, the British line was strong, although bent sharply back. There is no sign of a break, and still less of any disorganization.

At the south end of the active fighting line the Germans are wasting men at a furious rate in futile efforts to break through the French line. There, as in Flanders, the supply of German soldiers appears to be inexhaustible, despite the terrible slaughter.

On the front before Amiens the Americans have joined the British army. Fighting on a large scale is immediately ahead of the Americans. They are eager for it, and the evidence of British and French experts is unanimous to the effect that the American troops are now trained for battle. The public in the United States must be prepared to receive reports which will make preceding recitals of American activity seem trivial indeed.

So matters stand on the western front—the contact-point where the live wires cross and carbonize men by the tens of thousands. The allied nations must face the immediate future with resolute hearts, for the battle toll will be heavy and the outcome will be uncertain for a while, in spite of great sacrifices. But the allied peoples can also comfort themselves with the thought that their strength is gaining while the enemy is waning. The end of the struggle is victory. The German people are suffering more than the peoples of allied countries, and before them they have the specter of defeat. Germany is consuming rapidly. The frantic exertions of her armies are literally the expenditure of the remaining vital force of the German nation. While the crazy emperor and his chief slaughterers are willing to kill off the manhood of the German nation at the present rate, the allied nations must be content to count their own

losses lightly, for the sake of a speedy and certain victory which will mean the end of German aggression forever.

It is the suicide of an empire that the world is beholding. The suicide is striking out madly, trying to kill others. Armed with great weapons, and hindered by no scruple that would restrain sane minds, the Germans are sending themselves to the grave rather than abandon their attempt to conquer the world. Insane, ghastly, horrible as the thought may be, it remains a fact that the twentieth century is witnessing the butchery of humans on a scale of savage atrocity that would have appalled mankind in the darkest and bloodiest ages.

There is but one course to pursue: To prepare and endure to the end. France and Great Britain stand gloriously firm. America proudly goes to their side, resolved to fight to the end for the triumph of liberty. The greater the desperation of the enemy, the greater will be the sacrifice of the heroes whose breasts are the walls of freedom. The more savage the assault, the more costly it will be, and the more determined the resistance.

France has long utilized every available man and woman in the republic. Great Britain is now arranging to raise the military age limit and extend conscription to Ireland. Every man in the British empire is expected to do his duty. It must be the same in America. Every man here must be ready to serve his country. The battle in France has begun with German gains; it must end with allied victory.

All honors to the advance guard of America, the little force that now holds the Stars and Stripes aloft in the hell of battle! These men are the fortunate of their nation. They are heroes and the comrades of heroes. In after times their names will rank with those of the heroes of Valley Forge. It is a glorious day for the youths who carry the flag to France. To them is given the honor of making liberty perpetual by striking down the last dangerous enemy. May they strike hard, and may the power of the New World be concentrated in their stroke!



*Friday, April 12, 1918*

## The Rugged Road

WITH dauntless courage the British army north of Arras is standing up against superior numbers of men and guns. The weight of the hostile attack is forcing the British line back here and there, but nowhere is there any gain for the Germans except in small pieces of ground, purchased at appalling cost and yielding no profit. The attempts to disorganize the British force, to destroy its morale, to roll it back, cut off its communications, are all failures. The Englishmen and Scotchmen and Irishmen and Canadians and Australians may be killed, but they will not run. The tenacity of the Anglo-Saxon is seen at its best in the heroic defense of the northern end of the western front.

Whether the enemy will be held in check there, or whether he has massed such overwhelming numbers that he will overrun the British and reach Bethune or some other point from which to turn the British flank will be developed within a few days or possibly within a few hours. Every hour now is packed with a chapter of historic events, since the struggle has been brought down to a naked hand-to-hand contest between liberty and its enemy. The world for ages to come will look back upon today's hours and study them with minute care, for in them are hidden the seeds of the fate of mankind.

It is foolish to ignore or deny the consequences of a possible breakdown of the British defense as affecting the United States. This country is almost as deeply affected as Great Britain. A German victory great enough to disable the British army would change the entire aspect of the war and immediately bring the United States to the full realization that all its man power would be needed for at least five years in more terrible battles than those that have racked Europe.

This possibility, if nothing else, should inspire the energy and determination of Americans to uphold the allies in their present stress. The situation is a direct appeal to the instinct of self-preservation. But its very danger also serves as a bugle call to all patriots and lovers of liberty. It is because the enemy is strong and determined to rule the world that civilization bares its arm and draws the blade of destiny. If the Germans were a feeble folk, mere strutting braggarts as they were supposed to be by many persons before the war, there would be no appeal to the courage and tenacity of the civilized

ances. Now that the magnitude of the danger is appreciated, it is with fierce joy that the sons of freedom strip for action.

If there are quaking souls who fear that the possibility herein mentioned will become a fact, let them remember that a crisis even more acute than the present one was met by the allies in this war, and that it was the Germans who fell back. Another Marne awaits the Germans. They seem to be carrying all before them, as they did in 1914. But they will not defeat civilization. If the sorely pressed allies fall back it will be upon fresh reserves, held for the decisive stroke. Gen. Foch has already displayed one of the qualities of greatness in his ability to wait. He holds in leash an army which, properly used at the proper moment, will shatter forever the power of Germany. Perhaps he has been tempted to unleash the straining forces. But the hour has not yet arrived. The army, when it strikes, must strike once for all. It must wait until it can deliver a fatal stroke, fair and square through the heart.

This is a time for girding up of spirits and quiet resolve. Come what may, each American should say in his heart that he will see the struggle through to a triumphant finish. The aid that goes forward should be doubled and quadrupled. The support of the flag should be made more complete by purging from the heart every selfish thought. The President should have absolute support, from the heart out. If mistakes are seen, the thing to do is to mend matters. If men in authority are telling lies to the people, the thing to do is to tear them from their places forthwith. President Wilson cannot deliver the full force of this nation if liars and defeatists and thieves are permitted to operate under the shadow of authority. As for spies and traitors, they deserve death, they must die if America is to win, and they will die on gallows or before the guns of American firing squads.

Brace yourselves, Americans! Read your list of dead and quit the ways of peace. You must fight. Clean out the nests of serpents at home. See that your President has honest and brave men to help him. Strike down the weaklings and pacifists who are helping the enemy to kill your sons. Put Americans on guard, here in Washington, to support the Americans at the front.

*Sunday, April 14, 1918*

## The Invincible Allies

THE crisis through which the French and British armies are passing is the direct cause of a profound stirring of patriotism among the American people. The patriotism was there all the time, but it needed to be stirred. Germany's monstrous energy and savagery, striking squarely at the heart of the United States, first appalled and then set fire to the temper of Americans. The setbacks suffered by the allied armies have served as trumpet calls to the people of this country.

It would be well for Germany if she could peer into the heart of America. "We have misjudged America from the first," said one of the most intelligent German papers. America misjudged Germany, also, but it recovered its sense of proportion and its accuracy of judgment. It now has Germany properly estimated, while Germany is utterly unaware of what is going on in the heart of America.

The German idea is that if the British army can be beaten the British empire will be broken up and Germany will be master of the Old World. "Then we will not take any nonsense from the United States," was the kaiser's statement of Germany's position after it should have accomplished Britain's defeat. But Germany would not seek to continue the war. It would seek to make a bargain with the United States. "We are now masters of the Old World, and you are masters of the New," is Germany's line of reasoning. "Take what you want in the New World. Take Canada and all other British and French possessions. Assert your overlordship over Central and South America. We shall leave you alone, if you will leave us alone in Europe. We can trade across the Atlantic with great mutual benefit."

Germany's masters actually believe that Americans could be bribed into making peace. The prospect of spoils, Germans believe, would prove too much for Uncle Sam's itching palm. This estimate of the American character is as far wrong as the former opinion that Germany was a nation jealous of its honor.

Americans know that if such a stupendous catastrophe as the downfall of France and Great Britain should occur, the United States would reply to Germany, "We have just begun to fight!"

Americans know that thereupon the spirit that made this nation free would transform the Union of these States. Instead of 1,000,000



or 2,000,000 men ready to bear arms, 15,000,000 or 20,000,000 would demand the opportunity to kill Germans, and would not take No for an answer. Instead of imperceptible moves toward a hypothetical air fleet, America would commandeer the skies above Germany. Gigantic weapons, even now foreshadowed, would be forged by the Cyclops of American industry. By machinery of war faster and more destructive than anything ever before conceived, the American nation would destroy Germans, and if necessary Germany. One has but to glance back over the achievements of American genius to be assured that these statements are not boasts. The genius that produced the telegraph, telephone, airplane, submarine, tractor, machine gun and other agencies of warfare is capable of improving upon them and devising other weapons.

It is literally true that America has not begun to fight. The hardships of the allies are serving to arouse America to its duty. Everything that has been done to date is but a hint of what is to be done. The Americans at the front are but the spatter of drops before the deluge.

France will stand. A thousand years of struggle has tested her mettle and found her proof against destruction. The French nation is immortal. Great Britain will stand. The swarms of enemies that dash against the bulwarks of England are attacking that stronghold in vain. The French and British armies are the French and British nations in action. They may be bruised, but they cannot be killed. The foe attacking them bleeds, and before the war is ended he will seek to escape death.

Behind these two glorious and invincible gladiators stands the majestic figure of the United States, whose power is the power of a planet and whose resources are the treasury of the New World.

God lives, and therefore it is written in the book of the destiny of man that these three defenders of liberty and civilization shall strike down and destroy the German empire and its works.

*Tuesday, April 16, 1918*

## A Time for Revolution

CZERNIN is made the goat by the trembling and feeble Hapsburg who inherits the blood-stained throne. The city of Prague seethes with revolution and the people acclaim resolutions of independence. German and Austrian regiments and divisions are melting away in the implacable fires. The German people wait impatiently for the victory that is to lift all their burdens and reward with rich plunder all their privations. France and England stand firm. America utilizes every hour by sending fresh troops to aid the allies.

That is the situation for the moment. There is nothing in it to cause the heart of any free man to beat with apprehension. The signs of disaster, few as they may be, are in the enemy's camp.

Every hour of deadlock on the western front is an hour gained for world liberty. It is an hour taken from German militarism and handed to civilization. It is a curtailment of the danger that threatens the world, and a hastening of the collapse of the German power.

Lack of victory means defeat and collapse for Germany. The Germans cannot sacrifice every day a population the equivalent of a city the size of Indianapolis and hope to carry on indefinite assaults. There is not enough flesh and blood in the German empire to glut the appetite of allied cannons. Let them come on; the more the better. The struggle is largely a contest between German flesh and allied guns. Hohenzollern will not spare German flesh, but will achieve his object if flesh and blood can achieve it. The allies, acting on sound strategy, are not sacrificing men unnecessarily, although they are holding certain positions at any cost. When a machine gun can do the work of rifles, the allies use the machine. Their artillery work is wonderfully expert. The harvesters of death have worked havoc in the German ranks.

There need be no fear that the enemy will disable either the British or the French army. These forces are working magnificently in harmony and in the best of spirits. The enemy will strike again and again, but there is no reason to apprehend that he will reach his goal.

In the meantime, the disorders in Austria-Hungary afford a valuable hint to the United States and the other allies, if they would

but utilize it. Why are the allies failing to stimulate revolution in Austria? Conditions are ripe for the overturning of the Hapsburg throne. In the very midst of the smoke and flame of the western battle, when Hohenzollern is fighting for his life, it would be quite possible to start fires in Austria which the enemy could not quench.

Let the allies recognize the independence of Bohemia, Jugoslavia and other portions of Austria, and let them back up their recognition with financial and military support. Let them give tangible evidence to the Czecho-Slovaks, the Poles, the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and also the submerged Roumanian and Italian elements in Austria, that if they will strike the blow for liberty the allies will sustain them. With the Austrian army held at the Italian front, and with the German army in the grip of the western allies, it would be possible for determined revolutionists in Austria to upset the empire and put Hapsburg to flight. The coup could be accomplished in a day by concerted action.

One united, timely, determined stroke at the Hapsburg empire would be sufficient. It is rotten to the core, blood-soaked with ancient slaughters, execrated by millions of men who have it in their power to tear it to pieces. It is peculiarly the duty of the United States to take the lead in encouraging revolt in Austria, for millions formerly oppressed by the Hapsburgs are now citizens of the United States, and this nation has frequently voiced its sympathy for the trodden-down races in Austria-Hungary.

Italy, only recently an ally of Austria-Hungary, was strong enough to break away from the unholy alliance and strike for the freedom of her ancient territory. The other peoples are not strong enough to make war on their oppressors, but they can begin a revolution which, at the present juncture, would have every prospect of immediate success if supported by the United States and the great allies.

If any timorous American has any squeamishness regarding the propriety of fomenting revolution in Austria, by propaganda, money, bullets and all other means, let him reflect upon the fact that the United States of America is the result of France's bold and unblushing complicity in the plans of that dangerous revolutionist, George Washington, and his fellow conspirators.



*Wednesday, April 17, 1918*

## The Last Foe of Liberty

SOMEWHERE in France is a field, now unknown, which is destined to be trumpeted by fame to remotest ages as the field of Armageddon, the field where mankind dealt the final blow that liberated it from oppression by autocrats claiming divine rights and supported by millions of fanatical worshipers. The warfare now in progress leaves nothing to the imagination, so far as the forecast of events is concerned. With the punctuality of fate itself, German militarism marches to its annihilation. The unseen hand of God is driving the enemy forward to destruction. The German emperor and his satellites and slayers so literally follow the program of fate that they fulfill every detail, down to the manifestation of the pride that goeth before a fall. In their blindness they now think they are reaching the peak of victory, from which they expect to see broad pastures of fat plunder and illimitable indemnities.

Many a battle has been fought on the soil of France, some of them turning points of the world's history. At Tours the hordes of Islam were stopped, and the cry of defeat echoed in Cordoba and Damascus. The Moslem armies were magnificently brave, more intelligent than the Germans, chivalrous and honorable, but the natives of France would not have them as masters.

At Lepanto the Turks gathered an armada of unprecedented size, and prepared to swoop down upon and ravage civilization. John of Austria, supported by a fleet of allies and by such hearts of oak as that which throbbed in the breast of Miguel de Cervantes, dealt a killing blow to the infidel. The Germans of today are not better armed or more numerous supported than the Turks of Lepanto, in proportion to the strength of the respective intended victims.

The task of conquering the civilized world is too complicated and too difficult for any ruler to accomplish, no matter how bloody his mind, how wolfish his lust for spoils, or how numerous his armies. When men fight for their altars and their fires, for their wives and babies, they fight like angels and devils combined. France, being free and determined to remain free, is immortal. Free nations will not harm her, and they will see that other nations do not slay her. England is a land of men who made themselves free a thousand years ago, and they have spread freedom over the earth. England, like

Prometheus, is undaunted and unconquerable, because she knows she cannot die.

The German hordes batter against British and French breasts and allied guns. The barbarians make some headway—another step toward their own destruction. But their progress deceives them and lures them on, just as it deceives faint hearts in allied nations and whispers defeat in timorous ears. If the rulers of Germany were in their senses, instead of being committed to destruction, they would regard their progress in the enemy country in its true light as a step toward the annihilation of the German empire. But they plunge forward to their doom, according to the decree of fate.

The allied nations gather fresh strength with every disappointment. They were never as strong as they are at this moment, and never as harmonious in council. The magnitude of their dangers arouses the spirit that is required to marshal their forces and make them stone walls. Every hour increases the assistance which the United States is sending from its inexhaustible resources of men and material. The Germans have provinces to draw upon; the allies have a world. From America the allies are beginning to hear the unmistakable note of war—not an academic set of phrases, but the shrill scream of the eagle robbed of her young.

During this week in April, in 1775, the colonists of America gathered with 12 field pieces and 17,000 pounds of salt fish and resolved to fight for liberty. On the 19th of the month the embattled farmers "fired the shot heard round the world." The reverberations of that shot are still echoing in the robber castles of autocrats. Berlin hears it. America, blessed by the divine favor as the home and guardian of liberty, has reopened the battle of Lexington in order to defeat the last challenger and assailant of freedom.

When this battle is ended there will be no further attempts in this world to prevent men from governing themselves.

*Saturday, April 20, 1918*

## The Day of Reckoning

**T**WICE within the month ending today the power that assails mankind has struck with all the might of its collected, refreshed and replenished armies. It struck first against France and failed. Then it struck against Great Britain, and again it has failed. The German armies on the western front, reinforced by German armies from the Russian front and by many German and Austrian divisions from the Italian front, were gathered into one compact mass, drilled for many weeks for the special work before them, thoroughly supplied with all imaginable equipment and artillery, and then hurled with maniacal fury against the armies of France and England. And Thor's hammer broke against the anvil of freedom.

The Germans will continue the assault—they cannot and dare not quit. But their hammer strokes hereafter must be comparatively feeble. If it had been ordained that freedom in this world was to be overthrown, the date of its downfall would have been between March 20 and April 20, 1918. It was then that the mightiest military force ever massed in the history of the world was concentrated and used against the defenders of liberty. Nothing that absolutism could dictate or science supply was wanting in the assaulting forces. They represented the maximum driving and hammering power of the chief military nation on earth. The allied armies, having withstood and repulsed these attacks, have proved themselves indestructible. Freedom is unconquerable.

The battle has now reached the stage where the enemy is checked, looking about for chances to break through, and hurrying up fresh reserves. The allies, having stopped the onrush, are strengthening their lines as they stand, or shifting here and there preparatory to meeting another attack. They are also bringing up reserves, including a large Italian force. But the reserve army of the allies is not yet employed. It is kept in the background by Gen. Foch, waiting for the opportune moment when it can strike a mortal blow.

Germany, it is said, is bringing reserves from the Russian front. Very well! The allies are getting reserves from America. Now that the contest has come down to the point where the antagonists must bring up new forces, the allies can afford to be well pleased. They have a bigger reservoir of better men than Germany can command.



If Germany brings in 500,000 or 1,000,000 men, America will offset them with 1,000,000 or 2,000,000. The longer Germany protracts the endeavor to outnumber the allies, the greater she will be outnumbered from now on. If she could not beat the allies with her western and Russian armies, while the American force was "contemptible," what can she do when the American army has reached the size of other armies in Europe? As for munitions of all kinds, the allies are better supplied than their adversary, and the domain of the air is under the mastery of the allies.

Germany must fight on. Despite his knowledge that his armies have already done their best and failed, and that further assaults mean the useless slaughter of his people, Hohenzollern will continue the battle. He has no other choice. His war against the world was begun in falsehood, on a false assumption, and it has been maintained by falsehood and false gains blazoned before the Germans to conceal real losses. From start to finish, Hohenzollern's war has been a lie. The German people have been incurably greedy of falsehoods, and their lying master has filled them full. Now he does not dare to let them know the truth. He does not dare to tell them that Germany's antagonists are stronger than ever, and are forced by Hohenzollern's atrocious policy to decree that the war shall not cease until the German empire is on its knees. Hohenzollern is afraid to tell the Germans what he has done to 5,000,000 of their sons, whom he has butchered, blinded, maimed and sent to captivity. He has nothing to show for these slaughters except some territory which he holds temporarily, and which he must deliver up when he hands over his sword to his conquerors. Not a foot of Russia or Serbia or Roumania or Belgium is German or will remain German. It goes back to the owners, along with other stolen goods which civilization will recover from the spoiler on the day of reckoning.

It is against this approaching day of reckoning that the imperial manslayer Hohenzollern storms and struggles. He cannot delay it for an hour, nor can he flee from it.

*Sunday, April 21, 1918*

## No End Except Victory

THERE is a lull on the immense battle front while the enemy gathers strength for another attack. He has definitely failed in the first two. His gains are a few miles of wasted territory that increase the length of his communications and the difficulty of his transports; his losses are at least 500,000 men in killed and wounded. This showing is sufficient to convince even Hohenzollern that his fight is a losing one. But he has passed the point where he can fight or not, as he pleases. Inexorable fate has him in its coils. He cannot avoid what is in store for him. Failure to attempt to go forward means immediate danger of uprisings, hunger strikes and revolution in Germany and Austria. The issue for Hohenzollern is victory or death.

Hohenzollern knows his people. He chooses the lesser of two evils. He would rather pour out the lives of his faithful dupes, in the faint hope of winning a military triumph, than face the German nation with nothing but defeat in his hands and with an allied army at his heels. So long as he has human material capable of making battle and willing to die, he will sacrifice it for the sake of saving himself and his crown.

The probability is that Hohenzollern will strike next between the extremes of the two recent drives. His forces occupy two sharp salients, exposed to attack on their flanks. If they cannot straighten their front they may be compelled to retreat suddenly or surrender. Gen. Foch has the allied armies well disposed for administering a fatal blow to one of the German armies. The daily shifting of local forces has not injured the allied general position. It has actually increased the danger lurking behind the Germans. The enemy's advance is into territory that favors allied rather than German operations. The allies have shorter communications, better rear ground for rail and motor transport, superior intelligence installations and more abundant supplies. The Germans have more men, but these men must now march over broken ground to get into battle, and all their food and ammunition supplies are subject to delay on account of the absence of roads. Probably one of the busiest scenes on the earth at this moment is the territory behind the German front, where armies of diggers and builders must serve armies of fighters.

The allied nations are rapidly increasing their battle strength. The temporary suspension of heavy hostilities enables them to rush fresh forces forward and equip them with everything needful. At the depots farther back, the men and munitions from America and England are accumulating. Trains from Italy are conveying 500,000 men to the French and Flanders fronts.

Having withstood the full force of the two strongest blows that the German military power could deliver, the allied armies are supremely confident. They know they can ward off the third and last great attack. They are eager for the clash, well knowing that when it is ended the enemy will have opened the way for the counter offensive that will drive him out of France and Belgium. Once on the retreat, there will be no recovery for the German forces, as they will find the enemy ever increasing in numbers and efficiency.

Germany will offer to make peace when the German military power is clearly overmatched. The allies will not be so foolish as to listen to peace proposals before victory is achieved. Once for all time, free men must keep at war until there is no enemy before them capable of stabbing liberty to death. Now that the sword of liberty has been drawn, it must never be returned to the scabbard until it has done its work. The goal of liberty's sword is the heart of autocracy. The world is not yet safe, and will not be safe while the German system survives. Death to it is the only guarantee of liberty's life. The United States did not challenge Germany's right to organize a tremendous military machine, but when that machine was directed at the United States, for the purpose of destroying this nation unless it would take orders from Hohenzollern, it became necessary for the United States to put on such arms as would destroy the German arms.

Whatever the results of the battle now raging, the United States will carry on the war to a successful termination. With its allies, it will assemble and exercise the force necessary to destroy German militarism. There is no half-way station for peace, no room for compromise on the question, "Shall the United States be free or a German colony?"



*Thursday, April 25, 1918*

## The Fresh Onslaught

THERE is reason to believe that the Germans have brought up their guns and will soon begin, if they have not already begun, another assault in great force for the purpose of taking Amiens. While the enemy halted for a time after his failure to break the connection between the British and French armies, and later transferred his attention to the northern part of the line, it is well to bear in mind the German tendency to pursue with great tenacity a plan once begun, even if occasionally diverted elsewhere by the nature of the fighting. The war has shown over and over again that a point once attacked is subject to subsequent attacks, apparently without rhyme or reason so far as hope of success goes, but merely in pursuance of orders from "higher up" which leave no discretion to generals on the ground.

The enemy war council decided on March 20 that it would strike at Amiens. The order to attack went out that night. From that moment to this it has been made plain that the Germans will persist indefinitely in the attempt to take Amiens. No one sees this more clearly than Gen. Foch, who is an expert analyst of enemy character and psychology as well as strategy.

Some reports say that the enemy outnumbered and outguns the allies. That may be true, since sufficient time has elapsed to enable Ludendorff to transfer additional divisions from the Russian front. The weather has somewhat favored the Germans in bringing up their guns. No doubt Amiens will be under bombardment, along with Arras. But there is not the slightest reason for apprehending such weakness or such a breakdown of allied strategy as to result in the loss of vital territory. If Amiens should be taken, we may be sure that it will be taken with Gen. Foch's consent and not without his consent. He may have made such dispositions as to render Amiens no longer a vital point, or he may have laid down a plan which will sacrifice Amiens for the sake of winning a decisive victory elsewhere. He cannot take any one into his confidence. He must rely upon the unfailing support of all the allied governments and peoples. Thus, while the crisis is on it behooves every individual in allied countries to put his trust in Foch and the other commanders and their gallant armies, even at moments when the fortunes of war seem to be adverse. The fall of Amiens might occur, and in the absence of knowl-

edge concerning allied plans it might be regarded by individuals as a terrible disaster; and yet in fact it might be the precursor of a brilliant campaign resulting in the smashing of the German armies.

In good report and bad, in prosperity and adversity, it is the duty of the public to give its whole-hearted sympathy, confidence and support to the constituted authorities. The civil war taught Americans of hasty temper that they had grossly misjudged Abraham Lincoln and greatly increased his burdens. The history of the present war gives no warrant for fearing that the allied armies will be beaten by the Germans, no matter how great the disparity in numbers. The Marne, Verdun, the Somme, Ypres, Messines Ridge, Montdidier, Lassigny, Hangard-en-Santerre, Givenchy, and a score of other struggles show that the massed armed force of the German empire cannot overpower France and Great Britain.

Now the United States is giving respectable support to the two invincible defenders of civilization. American troops, admitted by the Germans to number over 250,000, are in position to assist the allies. Some of these troops are on the Somme, where they are apt to be engaged soon. They are eager for the fray. Every man can be depended upon to fight to the last cartridge. The Americans, Britons and Frenchmen are all under the command of a master strategist, whose skill in handling large forces and taking advantage of the turns of battle is not equaled by any German commander.

With intrepid hearts, plenty of arms and ammunition, and capably led, the allied armies await the onslaught. They may be depended upon to deal staggering blows at the enemy and cause him to bleed heavily. The German empire's fate depends upon victory; therefore the attack will be ferocious. But the allies have put 500,000 Germans out of commission in the last month, and they know the German empire is fighting its last fight. They will give it the death-blow if opportunity offers.

*Friday, April 26, 1918*

## The Victory-Makers

THE enemy has resumed the offensive on a scale that gives every evidence of a determination on his part to break through to Amiens and separate the British and French armies if German arms can accomplish the feat. The slaughter of Germans has recommenced, but despite this carnage they are driven forward by the merciless power that seems to make no distinction between friend and enemy slain. Hammering at both the British and French forces, the Germans have wrested two villages from them after the most desperate kind of fighting. Perceptible advance toward Amiens must be acknowledged.

Since the allies have had full notice of this attack, and have had sufficient time to accumulate defending forces between the firing line and Amiens, it must be presumed, if the Germans make such progress as to place the town at their mercy, that Gen. Foch has plans for operations elsewhere, even more important and more extensive than the terrible struggles before Amiens.

The activity of enemy and allied forces at other points along the western front may be the forerunner of a great counter offensive. Both sides are feeling out the lines, in reconnoissances which in former days would have been dignified as battles. In these minor operations the Americans have been baptized with fire and have come through the ordeal with admirable vigor and courage. In one fight the United States marines were seriously engaged, the casualty list showing that the battle was extremely hot. The country would like to know the details of this fight. There is reason to believe that a glorious page has been added to the martial history of the United States. This news should be spread before all the people, with the name of every officer and private who participated. Honors should be bestowed immediately upon those who distinguished themselves. Let the republic be grateful and generous to its defenders.

It is now probable that the American forces will soon be engaged on a large scale; that the Americans will be in the thick of the fight. Standing between the German and his intended victim are the stalwart American lads who but a few months ago were here at home. The gas shells, the shrapnel and the steel hail of the German murder machinery are now striking at them, and therefore at the heart of the United States. It is not a proxy war now, no sentimental assistance



#### THE VICTORY-MAKERS

to imperiled neighbors; it is a finish fight between Germany and America.

The great allies stand undaunted. Their courage was never so superbly confident. Their determination to win is coequal to their determination to live. They are free, and therefore they have the spirit of victory over any foe of freedom; they are strong, and therefore it is a deadly thing to attack them. Free, strong and united, they have already taken Germany's measure, defied her to do her worst, and halted her most desperate onslaught. Now they count the struggle as determined in their favor. The present attack is already an allied victory, when the whole scope of the war is considered.

It is not because of apprehension for the allies that the United States will now develop fighting qualities that will astonish the world. It is because the liberty, the independence, the existence of the United States itself are challenged and attacked. It is because American boys, defending the Stars and Stripes, have been stricken down by the bloody hand that is trying to tear that flag from the sky. It is because Germany demands the death or submission of America that America will now destroy the power that attacks the world.

All honor to the gallant nations that carry on the fight while America prepares! The time is tedious and blunders are all too numerous. But no earthly power can now prevent the United States from becoming deadly in efficiency. Pacifism, incompetence, negligence and mistaken hopes of peace by negotiation or diplomatic jugglery must all go into the scrapheap. Necessity calls for victors, and they will come forth. Some of them are already making victory.

The President of the United States will not lack for good counsel, ample support and strong hands to help him win this war. Whenever he thrusts aside a weakling and commandeers a victory-maker the enemy is brought nearer to the dust.

*Saturday, April 27, 1918*

## Germany's Last Struggle

**H**OHENZOLLERN is burning up the man power of his empire at a fearful rate. For the sake of capturing Villers-Bretonneux he carpets the district with his dead, and then he loses the place. Bent upon taking Kemmel Hill at any cost, he sends regiment after regiment against allied guns. The allies' cannon feed fat on human fodder, which is fed to them so plentifully that the piles of dead reach up to the very muzzles of the guns. In the offensive since March 21 there have been 160 German divisions employed. Many of them have been blasted and amputated; others have been annihilated; others are patched up and thrown again into the furnace, and still others have been withdrawn for reorganization. About 70 divisions remain which have not been used, but many of these are unfit for anything but holding quiet sectors. Evidently British official comment is correct when it says, "Germany must win very quickly" if it is to escape still greater punishment, to be followed by defeat and retreat.

But Germany cannot "win very quickly." That is precisely what has been proved to be impossible so long as the allied armies exist. There is no junction point where the French join the British line, as the Germans seem to think. The two armies are indissolubly welded together. They are as mobile and as homogeneous as the enemy forces.

By sacrificing more men than the gains are worth, the German commanders work forward a little. They could not do so if the allied commanders were willing to sacrifice men to hold the ground. But since the ground in no case has been vitally important, it has been yielded after the allied guns and machine guns and rifles have glutted themselves on the enemy.

Doubtless the taking of Kemmel Hill will be exploited in Germany as a decisive victory. It is nothing of the kind, although, of course, no one on the allied side is glad that it was taken. It is a local gain, costing the enemy more than it is worth, and not promising him any further advance toward his real objective. The victory the Germans seek is further away than ever. It seemed within his grasp on March 21. Now, after two bursts of effort at the utmost limit of his strength, the enemy finds himself near the end of his reserves in a third effort which the allies are holding in check.

## GERMANY'S LAST STRUGGLE

At the rate of progress and the rate of consumption of his man power, Hohenzollern would find himself without an army and still many miles from his goal if the battle should be prolonged without a decision. But the allies will not even permit Hohenzollern to slaughter his entire army in his insane attempt to beat down the armies of France and Britain. At an opportune time, when the German army is properly bled and exhausted, a counter stroke will end the tragedy once for all. The German armies are melting down to the size of the opposing forces, or to a point where the allies can take the offensive with absolute certainty of victory. The hour may not come for several weeks or months, but it will surely come this year if the Germans persist in exchanging human life for inches of ground.

There need be no fear that a coup on the part of the Germans will break a path for them to Paris or the Channel. The danger of that has passed. They could not accomplish that feat in 1914, when the allies were feeble. They could not accomplish it in March, 1918, when the combined armies of the German empire were concentrated upon a single assault. Those armies are smaller now, by at least 600,000 men, while the allied armies have been increased from Italy and the United States.

The swaying of the huge armies back and forth into a village and out of it, or up a hill and down again, is of little significance now. The fact that outweighs all others is that the allied armies have felt the weight of all the force that the German emperor and his generals could concentrate upon them and have stood firm. That fact means that Germany's attempt to break out of the trap is a failure. It means that the great allies are gradually and surely reaching the point where they will be able to choose their own time and place for giving Germany the knockout blow. It means not merely that Paris and the Channel will not be taken, but that Germany has passed the peak of power and will never again menace the world. The German imperial power is making its last struggle.



*Sunday, April 28, 1918*

### America's Share

NO ONE who surveys the situation comprehensively from day to day is misled into believing that the present battle or series of battles will end the war. We believe that these battles are pressed by Germany because the German emperor and his advisers are convinced that unless they can gain the upper hand over the allies this year the defeat of Germany will be made certain by the increased strength of the United States. Therefore Germany is risking all, in the hope of snatching victory from the very jaws of disaster and ruin.

But the immense size of modern armies and the vast industrial systems that sustain these armies have proved that no single battle, however prodigious its scope, can terminate the defensive powers of nations like France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and the United States. The nations can take one another's measure in a series of battles, and that is what is occurring now. Germany's success in reaching Paris or the Channel ports would be taken to mean that Germany, by continued effort, could compel France and Britain to come to terms, provided the United States did not appear in strength to disturb the equation. Germany's failure to break through will mean that the allies as they stand are masters of the German armies and can, by continued effort, drive them out of France and Belgium and compel Germany to sue for peace.

In either event continued effort will be required to clinch the advantage gained at this battle. Although the world may see from the result of the battle how the war may terminate, the war must go on until it has been terminated by actual application of overwhelming force. Hope will inspire the loser of the present battle, in the face of bitter disappointment and terrible losses. The winner will not be able to collect the full advantage of his victory without further expenditure of force.

There is solid ground for the belief that the allies will stop the Germans and thereby win the present battle. God grant it! But in that case the allies must have sufficient strength to follow up their advantage and convert it into the overwhelming, final victory of the war. They cannot afford to base their hopes upon German revolution or a breakdown of the German military machine. Their plans must be based upon superior war power.

At that point the United States can and should turn the scale. Notwithstanding Germany's advances here and there by the use of massed flesh, this is a machinery war, as is proved by the appalling harvests of flesh garnered by tanks and machine guns. The United States is still a stripling in war, a mere childish player at killing. Its enemy's territory is a roaring furnace of production, and every thought in every German brain is aimed at the utilization of means that will destroy the allies and the United States. In this country a thousand factors are permitted to interfere with war production, week after week and month after month. Pacifists are allowed to hold important places, and men tainted with pro-Germanism are actually in public office. The nation is not on fire for war. The people are not inflamed with that passion which sweeps all else aside and makes a straight path from the nation's heart to the hearts of the boys at the front.

The United States must be greater and more efficient in war than it now plans to be. Plans must be amplified. The nation is not measuring up to its easy possibilities. A continent that produces half of the coal and half of the steel of the entire world, which prides itself upon the magnitude of its industry and the scope of its production, which is famous for its artificers and inventors, which is the birthplace of most of the mighty engines of war, should be ashamed of the record it has made thus far in pretending to match its resources and its wits against the Germans.

Wake up, Americans! You must win this war. You can annihilate every gun that is aimed at an American heart. You can bring down to dust and death the imperial slayer and his hordes. But you cannot do it by bragging or by sloth or by depending upon France and England to win the war for you. You are unorganized for war, Americans, and your resources and money and skill will not be effective until you get down to business. The United States of America, aroused and armed for battle, is one thing; the United States, indifferent, fat and unorganized, is another.

Stand by your President. Strike down pacifists and traitors. Support every move of your government. Watch all your public officials. Keep them on their mettle. Save your criticism for wrongdoers. Speak out against wrong. Put your money in liberty bonds, which are dollars drawing interest. Study the enemy and his works. Don't try to profiteer from the government. Quietly watch all aliens. Cut out luxuries. Expand your views. Think in continents. Don't underestimate the enemy. Remember that the United States will never see a greater danger.



*Friday, May 3, 1918*

### Germany's Failing Powers

HAVING exhausted himself in a struggle against the line that binds him in on the north, the enemy is now gathering strength for another lunge, while his raiding parties are testing out the line here and there. In a scrimmage with Americans near Grivesnes the enemy found the line not only intact, but bristling with death. In the Noyon region he ventured to feel of the French force, and his foreline was cremated. As for the Ypres front, the spent forces of Gen. von Arnim have no desire to taste British steel again.

Yet the Germans must go forward and die. The fate of the Hohenzollerns is involved. The god worshiped by the Germans is in danger, hence the Germans must either give up their lives or their god. Thus far they have clung to their idol and squandered their lives, and probably they will continue to do so until the crash comes. Hohenzollern is still able to throw German men by uncounted thousands into the crematory of defeat. The day has gone by when it was his policy to conserve the German population. His only hope of success is to rebuild the foundations of his throne upon a mixture of German blood and bones, leaving to his successors the task of reoppling the empire. His reasoning is the perfection of simplicity. "Either I or the people must die," says Hohenzollern. "Let it be the people."

It was about a week after the beginning of the tremendous drive on March 21, 1918, that the inferiority of German arms compared with the allied forces was conclusively established in the test of battle. The climax of the war power of the German empire was reached during that week. The German western army was fresh after months of recuperation; it was fully provisioned and equipped; it was reinforced by the enormously strong army from the Russian front; it was trained for many weeks in the details of an attack that was to be pressed with maniac frenzy, at all costs, at a point unknown to the allies, and the emperor was in personal command, attended by his chief advisors. The stroke was made. It caught the allies partly by surprise, before they had unified the supreme command. The attack was pressed with a ferocity that was never surpassed by savages or beasts in the desperation of their death throes. And it failed. It failed, and with it the German empire began its decline. From the hour that this assault broke itself upon the undaunted



hearts of France and England, the defeat of Hohenzollern and the downfall of his dynasty was entered upon the book of fate.

Premier Clemenceau is the best informed man in the world concerning the allies and the task before them. He disposed of all his reserved doubts one week after Hohenzollern's supreme effort. That effort having failed, M. Clemenceau knew that Germany would never again have the strength to draw together the elements of an attack of equal power. The factors of the situation now favor the allies in their defense. They may not yet be able to begin an offensive and win—that is something which was too much for the Germans—but they have proved that they can stand on the defensive and kill off Germans at a rate that means the extinction of Germany if it is kept up. The confidence of M. Clemenceau, therefore, is knowledge.

Let the barbarian rage. The more he strikes at the allies the better for the world, for he will be exhausted and demoralized that much sooner. But the allies must narrowly watch this frantic foe while they are closing in upon him. He will not stop at anything. He will drag in Holland, Spain, Scandinavia; he will smash at Italy; he will redouble his air raids; he will run amuck with submarines. Seeing defeat and death before him Hohenzollern will go down in blood and fire, dragging down everything within reach. It is thus that the imperial wretch will try to justify himself with the boast that he fought to the last.

To the honor of the United States, humanity to the end of time will celebrate the fact that the world's liberation was accomplished largely through American effort. History can never overlook the glorious hour when the Stars and Stripes appeared in battle in France. The Americans of this day are fortunate in their generation to be sharers in the greatest achievement of mankind, the universal establishment of self-government.

*Sunday, May 5, 1918*

**"Consider the End"**

**E**VIDENTLY this beautiful month of spring is to be filled with the records of human butchery, as March and April were. The enemy has begun another attack, having rested his divisions and brought up fresh reserves to resume the effort to break the British army. The wastes that once were Ypres are to be harrowed with shells. The dead of old battles are to be blown out of their graves, merged with newly dead battalions, and reburied by fresh explosions. The German emperor of the dead is increasing his army of corpses with feverish haste. He will not be satisfied, it appears, until he has the greater portion of the German armies safely under the sod.

The allies will do all they can to help him, now that he insists upon decimating Germany. They have not lost a moment during the recent breathing spell. They have brought up reserves and supplies, strengthened rear defenses, increased their airplane forces, amalgamated fresh regiments of Americans and Italians with the veteran French and British brigades, and redoubled the bonds which unite the British and French armies. All this is directly in aid of the German emperor's campaign for the killing of Germans.

It is the enemy's hope to reach the Channel ports and to defeat the British army. That hope, ardently pursued, will prove the undoing of the German empire. There is no such thing as defeat of the British army, for the reason that it is backed by indestructible and irresistible power furnished by the nations of civilization. All this power is not on the ground, but it is realizable and in process of application. It is growing rapidly, not as rapidly as the hour's needs, but rapidly enough to turn the enemy's hope to despair.

At the moment when Germany renews its desperate assault, the parliament of Austria-Hungary is dissolved because of a crisis in the internal situation. The chief ally of Germany is on the verge of collapse by reason of hunger and revolution. The country is stripped of food. The imperial food dictator, Gen. Hoeffler, declared last December that the empire would have to get 600,000,000 pounds of foodstuff somewhere if it was to hold out until the next harvest. This supply has not been forthcoming. Ukraina was a Mother Hubbard's cupboard when the Huns reached it. In Bohemia and throughout the southern Slav regions of Austria the peasants refused to raise crops, and the shortage thus created is now acute and deadly.

In the midst of this universal hunger the subject races of Austria are straining at the leash. If the great allies would exert themselves in a practical manner they could precipitate at least three violent revolutions in Austria-Hungary, and thus hasten the dissolution of the Hapsburg empire. Arms and ammunition should be smuggled in to the subjects of Austria-Hungary. The coast of Dalmatia should be swarming at this moment with allied blockade runners carrying fuel for the revolution in Austria. No more telling blow could be delivered at the German power than the disablement of Austria, and nothing is more feasible as a military proposition.

The Austrian navy is almost as ineffective as the bolshevik navy of Russia. Ninety per cent of the crews of the Austrian navy are Slavs who are waiting for an opportunity to mutiny. All the maritime population of Austria is composed of Slavs and Italians. So honeycombed with revolution is the Austrian navy that Emperor Karl recently was compelled to take over personal command of the fleet. He does not dare to trust his own officers. A bold stroke by the allied fleets ought to result in the transfer en masse of the Austrian ships to the allied side, and the speedy occupation of all Austrian ports by the allies. Then the Austrian offensive against Italy could be turned into an enemy disaster of first magnitude.

Let the German hordes come on and die as they come. It is well. The allies are winning this war. In spite of failure to seize upon many obvious opportunities to deal a wicked thrust, the allies are marching to the goal.

The United States army is to be enlarged forthwith to a size sufficient to make the defeat of Germany sure. This concentration of the republic's strength is coming at the hour when Germany passes the peak of her military strength and when Austria-Hungary suspends parliamentary government to struggle with hunger and revolution.

Those who shudder at the German assaults should remember that the birth pangs of liberty are violent and that evil dies hard. Let them bear in mind the saying of the wise man of Greece, "Consider the end," and bravely bear the burdens of today.



*Tuesday, May 7, 1918*

## Liberty's Deadly Blows

**A**LLIED artillery has performed wonderful work recently in breaking up enemy formations far behind the lines. The Germans massing for attack have been blown to atoms, their food and munitions trains demolished, their ammunition dumps fired, and their railroads wrecked. In addition to this artillery execution, the allied airmen have gone farther behind the enemy's lines and deranged his communications by dropping bombs upon railroad trains and stations, airdromes and ammunition dumps. Consequently the Germans have been unable to organize the offensive which they planned to begin several days ago. The abortive attempt which was begun in spite of allied ravages soon ended in heavy losses. Not all the kaiser's ravings nor savage punishment by Hun generals could drive the Germans into line for an effective assault.

It is fast becoming evident that the Germans have struck their heaviest blow. They will resume the attack without doubt, because their numbers are still large and their object unattained. But the German empire will never again have at its command the magnificent equipment which was concentrated against the allies in March. The German army is not the army it was in March, when it was fresh, trained to the minute, armed to the teeth, and attacking with all the advantage of taking the opposing forces by surprise. The Germans also were inspired by expectation of overwhelming victory, and so immense were their numbers that their expectations seemed to be conservative.

Since that time 600,000 Germans have been put out of action, of whom at least 350,000 will never crave bread again. The allied artillery has wrought dreadful havoc with Germany's manhood. If the angel of death had employed an army of sable reapers they could not have harvested a heavier crop. It is a machinery war. More and more does it appear probable that flesh and blood must clothe itself in steel if it is to carry on war. The German waves of flesh dash forward, but they do so on ever-rising floods of blood. The acquisition of France and Flanders cannot be pursued by Germany at such ruinous cost. Either the method of assault must change or the German armies will be consumed.

So long as the Germans care to pursue their present course the allies are satisfied. Gen. Foch is not foolish enough to follow the

enemy's plan. He will not make counter offensives of flesh against death machinery to gain inches or rods of ruined ground. The proportion of losses favors the allies. That is satisfactory. Time thus works to the undoing of the enemy, by increasing the disparity between the forces. When the hour arrives and the certainty of victory appears, there need be no fear that Gen. Foch will hesitate to drive home to the hilt the terrible blade that civilization has placed in his hands.

With solemn pride and steadily increasing confidence the American people watch the growth of their army in France, the elimination of the unfit in Washington, the improvement in shipbuilding, the efficient delivery of troops and supplies under convoy, the liberal financial support of the government, the betterment of industrial conditions, and the keener fighting edge of the young men. There is much to be done in making the United States the fighting nation that it can and will be, but already it is apparent that the second year of war will be radically different from the first in sweep and effectiveness.

There are unfit men in high office. This is one of the heaviest of handicaps. But they cannot remain. The President's action in directing an investigation of the aircraft situation by the Department of Justice is a far-reaching order. It serves warning upon the unfit and the corrupt, wherever they may be, that their acts will be subjected to the fierce light which destroys both incompetence and corruption in the public service. The purging process seems slow, but it is sure. It will be swifter when the bitter truth is driven home that unfitness in Washington means murder of American boys in France. Unfitness is the accomplice of treason, more destructive than enemy plotting, more demoralizing than an aerial bombardment of Washington. It slows down production, cripples ships, turns out worthless ammunition, and unhinges every gateway to victory. Germany rejoices whenever a pacifist or an incompetent gets into office here.

But with all the drawbacks, the United States is sweeping forward toward marvelous achievements and glorious victory. Liberty is on the march. Humanity, stirred to the depths, will never return to the conditions of 1914, when a coterie of murderers in control of the military system of an empire were able to take the world by the throat. The giant forces at the command of civilization are rapidly undergoing organization for the smashing of this coterie, this military system, and this empire, if necessary.

*Friday, May 10, 1918*

## United and Indomitable

IT IS unnecessary to go into great details in discussing the parliamentary crisis in England, which culminated yesterday in a decisive victory for Premier Lloyd George over the forces that seek to overthrow the government. The struggle is at bottom an attempt by the military element to obtain and assert a dictatorship over the British empire. This attempt is made "with good motives and for justifiable ends," the purpose being to consolidate the strength of the empire and thus defeat Germany. But the civil authority of Great Britain, founded upon centuries of struggle with tyranny backed by military force, is determined that the institutions of free government shall not be subverted, even under the excuse that it is necessary to create an absolutism in order to cope with the absolutism of Germany.

The citizens of the United States who are students of history and who are now narrowly watching the evolution of governments are deeply interested in the situation in Britain. They earnestly desire the triumph of the civil power as personified by Premier Lloyd George. Americans are not unaware of the tremendous strides made in America toward the consolidation of powers in the hands of a few. This tendency, however, does not present the sinister face of usurpation of power by the military, and there is no indication that the military branches of the government will have the hardihood to ask for dictatorial powers. President Wilson's timely and emphatic suppression of the move to clothe the military courts with power to seize and try individuals charged with sedition is sufficient evidence that he, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, is not seeking fundamental changes in the government. He has extraordinary powers, powers never before conferred upon a President, but there is no ground for supposing that he will exercise them in such manner as to strengthen the military branch at the expense of the civil authority. In the meantime, the mere fact that the powers granted are novel and unprecedented is sufficient to cause many acute and studious American citizens to watch with vigilance the exercise of these powers.

It is fortunate for the close coöperation of the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy that the crisis in England has emphasized the determination of Englishmen to hold fast to the foundations of freedom. The war is sweeping many men from their moor-



ings, so that the wildest heresies are preached and the most absurd doctrines accepted as true. There are some solid truths, however, which will not budge. One of these truths is crystallized in the phrase, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Free men must guard freedom after having fought for it and won it. They must guard it against themselves and other free men, who would destroy it through ignorance or other weakness.

The German empire is united and as a military machine is wonderfully effective. But, as the Italians wittily have said, "Germany wins battles and loses wars." A nation must be more than a military machine, or it will lose in the military game. The unity of the Germans is not the unconquerable unity of the American States, which has been proved by fire to be a spiritual and moral as well as physical union. The enemy league does not present the unity that now inspires the souls of the allied nations. The enemy nations, having joined only for selfish schemes of plunder, are already beginning to quarrel among themselves over the spoils, and Austria is fainting because of hunger and war sickness. The entente allies, on the other hand, are more compact than ever, more heartily joined in unselfish mutual help. They are not fighting for spoils, and thus have no cause for quarrel. They are fighting for liberty, and the more liberty they achieve the less excuse they have for quarreling.

It is an earnest both of the glory and the certain triumph of the allies that every stroke they make is for the weak as well as the strong, the oppressed as well as the free. Eternal right is the moral force that sustains every musket, every bayonet, every gun, every ship and every man on the allied side. As the light triumphs over darkness, the battering ram of the allied nations is breaking down the barriers that have kept mankind from freedom. Victory runs ahead of the allied battle lines, and flashes the message of doom in the eyes of the enemy hordes. The would-be shacklers of humanity know they are trapped, condemned and sentenced to destruction. Their day of execution is coming. In their last days they are desperately striving to break through the steel net, vainly threatening that if they must die they will carry down civilization flaming into the pit of annihilation. Their threats are as vain as their assaults. They cannot carry down civilization. Civilization, in the form of France, Great Britain, Italy and the United States, is an indomitable and conquering union which has resolved that the world shall not only resist German encroachment, but shall strike off the remaining shackles of humanity. The brute force and unified control necessary to make this decree effective are now in possession of the allies.

*Saturday, May 11, 1918*

## Strike Down Hapsburg

**I**F RUSSIA had remained intact as a member of the entente alliance opposed to Germany, the struggle on the western front would have been quite different in detail and in general. Even if Russia had done nothing more than Austria is doing as a partner of Germany, the allies would have had a much lighter load, if they had not actually ended the war with victory.

This observation is made, not for the purpose of crying over spilt milk or upbraiding the Russians, but to give point to the suggestion that what Germany has done to the allies may be done by the allies to Germany. Germany dealt a terrible blow to England, France and Italy by disabling Russia. The allies can deal a terrible if not fatal blow to Germany by disabling Austria.

Russia was an autocracy holding together a lot of races. One small stroke, at the psychological moment, knocked the autocracy to pieces. The races thereupon plunged into anarchy, and there was no Russia so far as fighting Germany was concerned.

Austria is an autocracy holding together more races than are in Russia. The races in Russia are not trying to segregate themselves and set up distinct governments, as a rule. But in Austria the races are antagonistic, and are trying to segregate themselves and set up their own free governments.

Nicholas Romanoff held control with a feeble hand, but his hold upon the people of Russia was a rod of iron compared with the control of Karl Hapsburg over the angry and explosive races of Austria. At the psychological moment a small stroke could knock the Hapsburg dynasty to pieces. It is rotten to the core, a dead thing propped up and given a semblance of life, as the body of the Cid Campeador was propped upon his war horse at Valencia. The Hapsburg dynasty should have been entombed long ago, like all other relics of the age of tyranny and intolerance.

Twenty-seven millions of human beings are held in involuntary servitude to the Hapsburg throne. The stripling who happens to occupy this throne exercises the power of life and death over these people, who are of a different race and language. The men of military age are impressed into the armies that are trying to beat down the instinct of liberty. The manhood of these 27,000,000, in other words, is forced to fight for Hapsburg and Hohenzollern, forced to



## STRIKE DOWN HAPSBURG

strike down and kill the men of France, Britain, America, and Italy. Thus the two autocracies actually utilize the intelligence and brawn of men whereby these men forge chains upon themselves and then kill any men who try to rescue them.

Tens of thousands of men in the Austrian army would mutiny if they had reason to believe they would be aided in their efforts to shake off the Hapsburg chains. They remain in chains merely because they are not organized and because they are prevented from hearing the call of the trumpet that will never sound retreat.

What are the allied governments thinking of, that they do not strike down Austria, as Germany struck down Russia? There are four allied navies which can make up a fleet to force the Adriatic and take the Austrian coasts. The Austrian navy would mutiny and kill off its Austrian commanders if the allies would start the ball rolling. At the very spot where this war started is the weakest spot of the enemy's armor. There, in Austria, are the mines of political dynamite all laid, ready to be sprung. The allies know that Bohemian troops deserted by thousands from the Austrian army. They know that Bohemian troops are now assembling as an individual army in France. They have seen 3,500 Slavs, subjects of Austria, go nearly around the world to join the allied forces at Saloniki. They know that Bohemians, Slavs and Roumanians who fought with the allies and were captured by Austria have been shot as traitors, and yet these races join the allies and keep up the fight which their forefathers fought. For 500 years some of these races have been trying to escape from the Hapsburg yoke. Their sacrifices outshine the most illustrious pages of American history.

The coast of Dalmatia is open. One or two raids, far less dangerous than those of Zeebrugge and Ostend, would give the allies a foothold and a means of communication with the races that are ready to start the fires of revolution. The Austrian army would be a pandemonium from the moment the soldiers heard of this allied advance. The Austrian navy could not be held by its Hapsburg master, as it is 90 per cent pro-ally.

When will the allies take a leaf from Germany's book? When will they strike at the enemy's vulnerable spot, instead of closing their eyes to his weakness?

If none of the European allies is prepared to go into the Adriatic and light the fires, why should not the United States navy be chosen for the task? There is not a man in the service, from vice admiral to cabin boy, who would not be delighted with the opportunity.



*Sunday, May 12, 1918*

## The Resolve of Humanity

THE ENEMY is massing his forces for another attack, in the hope of breaking through the British or French armies, or both. Up to this hour the mightiest armies that Germany could assemble have met with failure in trying to disable the forces of civilization. Still further efforts will be made, some of them perhaps as formidable as that which began on March 21. But we steadfastly believe that the German power culminated in March, and that every succeeding battle will betray the dwindling strength of the enemy. Yet he will fight, for he has no other recourse except to sue for peace on the allies' terms.

That must be the end of this war—peace on the terms laid down by civilization. Those terms must provide for the permanent disarmament of the German empire, if it should remain an empire. The world cannot trust the German empire in any peace promises, guarantees, or pledges. The only safe course for liberty to pursue is to disarm its enemy, and this course must be pursued to the end, no matter how great the time or effort required. Nothing is so necessary to man as his liberty. He can afford to pay any price necessary to obtain and establish it.

The idea persists that this war must end in a compromise, under which Germany will return substantially to the position she occupied just before the outbreak. How can there be such an outcome, when the real issue at stake is considered? Is humanity to make a compromise whereby it will be half free and half threatened with German mastership? Is there a condition in which a nation may be half slave and half free? The United States answered that question 50 years ago.

This war goes to the roots of human society. It is the outward evidence of a world revolution that cannot stop until its purpose has been fulfilled. That purpose is the liberation of man. It does not matter how the war started or what motives inspired it. The essential fact is that a part of humanity, stripping itself of all responsibility to God and man, and arming itself with modern powers on a tremendous scale, attacked the remainder of humanity for the purpose of making it subject in all respects to one will—to enslave it.

Contemporary humanity has not yet recovered from its stupefaction in trying to comprehend the astounding fact that a leading

nation, in the twentieth century, should in a twinkling cast off all pretense of civilization and stand forth a stark barbarian bent upon the slaughter of nations until they have all been either killed or enslaved. There is an explanation, and in due time the whole story will be unfolded and understood. There is not time for that now.

Assailed and dazed humanity has risen superbly to its own defense. The greatest nations in the world are linked together as comrades in a compact that will not end this side of death. They are supported by all other nations, without regard to race, color, or forms of government. Mankind is beginning to understand that it is a fight which must end either with the death of the enemy or the death of human freedom. Seeing that fact more clearly every day, the free men of this world are sharpening their swords, filling their wallets, and gathering together for a finish fight. They will remain free. But more than that, more glorious than that, they will make their brethren free.

Before this war ends there will not be a human being who is robbed of his right to share in governing himself. The rule that any man born of woman shall have the right to snuff out the lives of millions of his fellows for the sake of extending his own power over the world—this rule is in process of extinction. Tens of millions of unconquerable souls, yes, hundreds of millions of free spirits have resolved that that rule shall be extinguished from the book of mankind. They have resolved that the worshipers of that rule shall surrender or be put to death. They have resolved that all men shall be given the power that is so long overdue, the power to determine their own government and name their own governors.

When these deeps in the soul of mankind are sounded it needs no prophet to foretell the end of William Hohenzollern and those of his followers who persist in the mad project of shackling humanity. He and they will be swept away in the blast, and the sands of the desert will be easier to identify than the bones of Hohenzollern.

Friday, May 17, 1918

## In the Toils

IN A speech to the town council of Aix-la-Chapelle a few days ago the German emperor endeavored to cheer faint-hearted Germans by describing the devastation in France. He asked them to console themselves with the thought that they had escaped such horrors, and to "be satisfied with their lot and bear patiently the hardships and privations of war." Then he added:

"The offensive goes well ahead. Already 600,000 English have been put *hors de combat* and 1,600 guns have been captured. Everywhere the French must help. Our opponents have had a bad time. They deserved nothing else. Our task in the west will be accomplished, but we must be patient. We cannot settle in a day armies of millions.

"We shall obtain our aim. Difficult tasks are before us, but to deal with these we have efficient workers."

"Whoever is faint-hearted, be patient," says Hohenzollern. "It might be worse. Look at the devastation we have wrought. Let that be a substitute for food. Look at the ashes, and cease to lament. Be satisfied with your lot, even if you are starving to death. Don't ask me about the victory I was to win in March. Be patient. Don't keep clamoring for bread. We have killed many English. Consume that thought as a substitute for bread. Be satisfied. Bear patiently your hardships and privations. We have hard work ahead. Don't make it harder by asking for bread when there is no bread."

The German emperor sings a tune quite different from the pæan which he chanted in March, when he took personal command of the armies that had reached "the turning point of history." At that time he assured the German people that the supreme hour had come, when the mailed fist was to strike the fatal blow. In answer to the rising clamors of his people he promised them early and overwhelming victory over France, England and America, which would compel them to make quick peace on Germany's terms, and enable the German people to fatten themselves on the spoils of the whole world. He attempted to make this promise good by assembling all his forces and striking with all his might.

He failed. The offensive that began March 21 ended within a week with a loss of 300,000 Germans. It netted Germany some of the devastated ground of which the emperor spoke so feelingly. There



was not a loaf of bread, not a potato, not a piece of sausage in the whole area. Three hundred thousand Germans lost, and not a scrap of sauerkraut in return! That was the turning point of history, but it turned the wrong way for Germany.

Then came the realization by the emperor and his generals that the end of German power was in sight. The allies had taken Germany's measure. The reserves of Germany were all assembled. The reserves of the allies stretch back to America, into a reservoir containing 20,000,000 men of military age, equipped with all the resources of the New World. This appalling fact burst upon the fated emperor and his captains on the day when the French and British armies breasted the German waves and shattered them. It is a fact which must be concealed from the German people by every trick and device known to desperation and mendacity. Not until the German power is crushed, not until the empire is on its knees will Hohenzollern cease his attempt to buttress his dynasty with the bones of Germans. He will slaughter them down to the last man rather than yield his throne and his life. "Be patient," he tells them. "Let me continue to kill you off. Starve until I need your carcass to stop the allies' bullets. Don't ask questions. Don't learn the truth. Be satisfied to starve and die."

The Germans are starving and dying, but they are not satisfied. The emperor would not have spoken as he did, if his people had been satisfied and confident. The ugly and menacing note is heard. The people are not satisfied to look upon devastated France as a recompense for their own privations and losses. Too many German sons and brothers lie in devastated France to make the region attractive. The conquest of this devastated region means the recovery and enlargement of a German graveyard, but it does not mean victory or bread. It means more hope deferred, more privation, more sons and brothers slain, more certain exhaustion and defeat.

The imperial assassin is approaching the breaking point. With his enemies rising in enormous irresistible masses in the western world, with the nations of Europe unconquerable and gradually exhausting his armies, Hohenzollern now hears the unmistakable undertone of warning from his own people, telling him that the end is approaching. He must defeat the world or die. He must satisfy them with victory or with his head. He has slaughtered their millions of sons. They are beginning to ask for an accounting. His falsehoods may postpone the reckoning for a few days or weeks—a mere moment in this stupendous tragedy. The inescapable climax draws near.

*Saturday, May 18, 1918*

## The Heroic Hour

THE suggestion that Congress should adjourn without enacting legislation required for the conduct of the war is an absurdity which will find no support among statesmen. It is hardly worthy even of a politician. When the officials who are responsible for the financial operations of the government advise Congress that taxation legislation is necessary, there need be no apprehension that Congress will neglect its duty. If there are any senators or members who are more anxious to repair their fences than to win the war, let them persist a while. Their constituents will do the rest.

No legislator need fear defeat for attending to his duty as a guardian of the liberty of this Union. He will not be punished for any peculiarly striking act of patriotism. No instance can be cited in which a legislator has been defeated for his Americanism. Even in a hotbed of disloyalty like Wisconsin a stalwart American was elected to the Senate, the majority thereby removing the erroneous impression that the preponderating sentiment of Wisconsin was disloyalty. Wisconsin is not disloyal. Neither is any other State, although there may be spots as intensely pro-German as there are in Wisconsin. As the war goes on the people of each State will take care of the dangerous spots.

It is for Congress to support the President wholeheartedly, just as it is the duty of the President to credit Congress with good faith and patriotism. The people expect these branches of government to work harmoniously. If the resolution pending in the Senate is deemed by the President a reflection upon his conduct of the war, it should be amended forthwith, without a moment of hesitation, as a mark of respect and courtesy to the Executive. It will be noted that the President does not question the powers of Congress or attempt to encroach upon them. If he should attempt to do so it would be the duty of Congress to stand firmly upon its rights, in absolute disregard of any plea or threat from the Executive. In its own sphere of rights each department of the government is invincible.

The Presidency and Congress earn from the people the respect to which they are entitled, and no more. Each administration and each Congress makes its own character. The people are only too glad to support wise statesmanship and resolute leadership. It is irresolution, cowardice, and lack of vision that they despise. No

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man has ever been great enough to exhaust the possibilities of a seat in Congress, much less the seat in the White House. Daniel Webster was a deep-thoughted statesman, but a senatorship did not cabin and confine his powers. If he had been greater, there would have been room for his greatness in the Senate.

Infinite possibilities for good are inherent in Congress. It is a field for creative statesmanship stretching across the ages. Men capable of conceiving massive constructive work could find in Congress the opportunity for adding to those colossal beams and pillars which underlie and support the United States. These are heroic days. They demand heroic men. One such man is in the White House. Clasp hands with him, men of Congress! Try to look into the future. Gaze over the spaces of the world. Do not voluntarily narrow your gaze to your district, your State, or your nation. You can be among the shapers of the destiny of mankind. You should be in the vanguard of the world's lawmakers, guiding humanity toward liberty and order. The Constitution imposes no limitations upon the intellect; on the contrary, it presupposes in Congress an intellect and a wisdom that will be capable of rounding out the nation's greatness.

Any lawmaker who will read the preamble to the Constitution can find all the inspiration he needs. The purposes for which this "more perfect Union" was founded are a synopsis of the whole duty of man and civilization.

The present Congress must have more initiative, and must exercise its own indisputable authority more thoroughly and resolutely if it is to meet the needs of this tremendous hour. President Wilson needs the help of a great, far-seeing, creative Congress, a Congress not stopping to quibble over questions of authority, but honestly announcing its purpose to cooperate with the Executive and then doing so in its own way, relying upon the President to do his full duty. It is a reproach to the present Congress that the executive departments must think out and frame the laws.



*Monday, May 20, 1918*

## The End Ordained

GERMANY knows as well as her antagonists that she must win the war this summer or face certain defeat. When President Wilson asked, "Why limit the army to 5,000,000 men?" and answered his question by stating that the first duty of the United States is to win the war, he put into words the only certainty of this war—the certainty of Germany's defeat. It is not merely because President Wilson says this that the words are important. It is because he faithfully voices the fixed determination of this nation.

For the very reason that the United States will carry the war to a successful finish, at whatever cost of time, men, treasure, and effort, Germany will redouble her effort to beat down the allied armies this summer. Germany still believes that if she can force France and England to quit she can offer such a tempting peace to America that the "dollar worshipers" will not be able to resist it. The German emperor's plans are vastly extended since Russia crumbled. The steady penetration of Russia, as shown by the occupation yesterday of an island close to Petrograd, means that Germany hopes to be able to offer "generous" terms to the United States in the event the western allies are beaten and Germany finds herself mistress of Europe and part of Asia. As President Wilson observes, every concession which Germany pretends to make in the west is for the purpose of gaining a firmer hold in the east. Whatever the bitterness of the fighting in France, Germany hopes and expects, in case of victory, that she can salve America's wounded feelings by offering to share the spoils of the British empire. Germany cannot conceive that the United States would continue the war if great material gains were offered as a bribe for peace.

The greatest danger to Germany lies in the accumulation of American forces in France and in the increasing disorders in Austria. Time works against Germany in both matters. It is all-essential that the allies should be smashed before American forces outnumber the Germans, and before Austria is set on fire with mutiny and revolution.

Therefore a ferocious onslaught is coming. Once more the enemy will try to break down the British and French armies. German intrigue has tried every possible method of disintegrating the allies and wearing down their morale without success. Neither propaganda

nor aërial raids nor long-range guns nor sabotage has had the desired effect. Reluctantly the German emperor and his generals have been forced to the conclusion that the only possible means of escape from the trap is to cut a path by force. This has just been tried and has put out of action at least 600,000 Germans, more than a year's supply. It is a terrible prospect for Germany, but there is no alternative except defeat and acceptance of the allies' terms. Rather than surrender the spoils of murdered nations, rather than yield up his system of assassinating neighboring peoples, the kaiser will sacrifice another year's supply of Germans.

The coming struggle calls for all the energy, all the alertness, and all the strength of the allied nations, but there is nothing in the situation that warrants pessimism. The black outlook is on the German side. There despair and death await the imperial adventurer and his followers. On the allied side there is assurance of victory after hard trial. France and Great Britain are nerved for the battle, vigilant, reticent, awake to every opportunity for harvesting enemies. Behind them stands the United States, pouring forth the elements of victory. At least 500,000 Americans are in France—a force worth while.

The allies will be encouraged by the message of President Wilson, in which he makes clear to friend and foe that the United States has but one aim, the defeat of Germany. That assurance means much to the allied men in the trenches, who will see in every American soldier an evidence of the fresh force that will flow to Europe until the victory is won. The Germans, seeing these Americans, will see corresponding evidence that their cause is lost. They may try to vent their hate upon the Americans confronting them, but they can never hope to stem the flood from the New World. Fight and die as furiously as they will, the end of the war is ordained. Liberty has not drawn her sword against her last enemy without putting her immortal avenging spirit behind the thrust.

*Wednesday, May 22, 1918*

## Liberty, Not Peace

THE idea seems to prevail in some quarters that a genuine offer of peace from Germany would cause an immediate cessation of the war and a prompt settlement of the issues that divide the two great war camps. It is assumed that the reason why the war issues are not settled is that all of Germany's peace offers are fraudulent; that if any one of these offers should prove to be genuine, the war would cease.

But this is not the case. The war goes on in spite of the desire for peace, and it must go on in spite of fraudulent or genuine peace overtures until the people of the world actually gain and have means of establishing their freedom. Germany desires peace. The German people have given unmistakable evidence of their longing for peace. Austria wants peace. The allies all desire peace. It is not because the world wants war that the war goes on, and the universal desire for peace does not bring peace. Why not?

It is because humanity is aroused and will not return to peace until something more precious than peace has been gained and fixed. That is liberty.

When Germany concocted war she confidently believed that she could have peace at any moment by merely expressing a desire for it and by offering sufficient "inducement." Now, as the fourth year of the war comes toward its end, famished and bleeding Germany knows how much harder it is to have peace than to have war. The would-be murderers of nations started a fire they cannot quench. They aroused passions which will not lie down while the German empire exists armed. If Germany should revolutionize herself, throw away her murder gear and become free, the remainder of the world would immediately begin in a peaceful way the task of untying subject races from obsolete thrones and setting up free governments. This task cannot be performed peacefully while Germany is armed and dominated by nation slayers. It is only by blasting Germany to pieces that mankind can free subject nations. This blasting process will necessarily continue and become more violent so long as Germany remains an obstacle to liberty.

No truer words were ever spoken than those uttered by Mr. Balfour when he declared that the war must go on until Germany was



either powerless or free. Every development of the war, every step taken by the United States since April 6, 1917, and every plan now unfolding emphasizes the truth of that statement. War is a permanent institution until liberty is gained for the world, and liberty cannot be gained until Germany is disarmed and made pro-liberty.

Peace is not the thing. Peace may be shameful and more dangerous than war. Germany's appeal for peace would mean nothing, even if the appeal should be genuine, if it were not an appeal from a beaten nation, asking for mercy. The allies must go to the end in the execution of their duty as trustees of humanity. They must disarm Germany and tear away the bonds that strangle the freedom-loving nations now overridden by Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey. Those nations must be set up as free governments, independently exercising their own rule by consent of their own people, and absolutely relieved of any further danger of German aggression. When that has been accomplished, peace will come, and it will be a peace worth while.

The United States occupies a powerful position and can be the most influential nation in the world in establishing freedom if it will adhere to its ideals and resolutely befriend the weak nations. President Wilson has blocked out in a general way the features of the new Europe. It would be the world's greatest misfortune to have the United States waver in its purpose as outlined by its great President. That purpose cannot be accomplished by peace. It can only be accomplished by war. Germany endeavored by force to enchain mankind. Free nations are assembling superior force that will strike the shackles from mankind. Not peace, but war; not negotiation, but force; not a cessation of hostilities, but redoubled energy in fighting—that is the hard road to freedom. Hereafter humanity will take pains to keep brute power away from peoples that have no moral sense. The nations will make sure that no one of them shall accumulate excessive brute force that could be used for war.

*Thursday, May 23, 1918*

### Imperishable Italy

ITALY, as undaunted as France, enters upon her fourth year of war. It is most fitting that the anniversary should be celebrated in the countries allied to Italy, and it is especially appropriate that the United States should take note of Italy's indomitable and heroic temper, in spite of terrible vicissitudes. Before Italy's reverses in October last, the most urgent pleas were made for materials from this country. No complaint was ever made by the Italian government or people concerning the nature or extent of American aid, but there will forever remain a question whether the United States fully comprehended the dangers that surrounded Italy at that time.

But granting that the United States was slow to grasp the Italian situation, as it has been slow with its airplane construction and with several other vital enterprises in this war, the fact remains that Americans are keenly sympathetic with Italy and warm admirers of Italian valor. The United States is far more alive to the war situation in Europe than it was when Italy became a belligerent. There need be no apprehension that America will fail in its duty as an ally.

Italy occupied a unique position when the world war began. She was an ally of Germany and Austria-Hungary. If the Italian monarch had been a traitor to his ancestry, his country, and to civilization, as was Constantine of Greece, the war would have taken a course entirely different from that which has become history. France would have been subjected to a double attack of crushing force, at a time when she and her allies were not prepared. With the defeat of France the map of Europe would have changed in a twinkling.

The Italian king and government had had an opportunity to gauge the true nature of the other parties to the triple alliance during the war over Tripoli. The Italian fleet was prepared to bombard an important Turkish port when Germany and Austria conveyed to Italy an unmistakable threat of war if it should dare to carry hostilities out of Africa. This and other incidents of Teuton treachery opened the eyes of King Victor Emmanuel and his government. They had once before protested against Austria's violence toward Serbia, and when the present war was opened by Austria's brutal aggression against Serbia it was impossible for Italy to countenance such an outrage. Italy gave notice of its withdrawal from the triple alliance.

The German and Austrian emperors used every possible weapon of entreaty, bribery, and menace to induce Italy to join the black flag. It was in vain. The situation in Italy was most difficult, and only an active sense of loyalty to duty, honor, and civilization could have prevailed against the influences which operated in favor of Germany and Austria. The country was economically in the hands of Germans. The banks, manufacturing establishments, steamship lines and industrial enterprises were financed in Germany. The university professors were almost to a man worshipers of German science and literature. Germany was the foremost example of a pushing, prosperous, scientifically developed social organization, and her material success seemed to hypnotize the Italian teachers. There was also a strong socialist school in Italy deriving its vitality from Germans. Moreover, the country was impoverished by the Tripolitan war, and the pacifists, led by the brilliant Giolitti, had strong arguments on their side. Finally, Prince von Buelow conducted a propaganda of unparalleled scope, audacity and skill. It was far more penetrating and expert than the German propaganda in the United States.

King Emmanuel stood true to his race and to humanity. His counselors were well chosen. The chamber responded to the patriotic spirit of the king and the people. The failure of Germany and Austria to induce Italy to hurl 500,000 men upon France was followed by Italy's entry into the war at a moment when it meant the demoralization of Germany's offensive against Russia. Later, at a critical moment which history will more fully discuss, Italy began an offensive which relieved the western allies. Thus, in at least three distinct crises, Italy proved to be not merely the faithful friend, but practically the saviour of her allies.

Now, after tasting the bitterness of a reverse which has given the enemy an opportunity to ravage Venetia and enslave its people, Italy is employing every energy to cope with the situation. An enormous force confronts the brave defenders of Italy. But the western allies have sent aid, and they will send more to the side of King Emmanuel's men. Civilization owed much to ancient Italy, but it owes more to the Italy of today. The world would not permit the memory of Rome to die, nor will it permit Italy to become a memory. A nation which is inspired by the conscience that inspires Italy, and which is defended by such resolute and unconquerable souls as those of Italy, is not made for death. It remains imperishable.



*Friday, May 31, 1918*

## The Elements of Victory

QUITE naturally the world's eyes are turned toward the battle line in France, where the commotion is greatest and the noise loudest. But it may be a serious question whether the most important elements of the war are not elsewhere. Strategic advantages may show conclusively to experts that one side or the other is entitled to be regarded as victor, but the vanquished one goes on as though nothing had happened. The only effect of battles and series of battles has been to change the scenes of action. History tells us that in previous wars the issue was finally decided as a rule by power in action. But not always, even when it was comparatively easy for nations to discover the extent of their resources in developing power.

In the minor campaigns of this war, immense superiority of brute force enabled the Germans, assisted by allied shortsightedness, to snuff out Belgium, Serbia and Roumania. But in the bigger struggles, it seems to be impossible for the great adversaries to wield all their power in such fashion as to destroy the opposing power. Germany could not beat the Russian armies even when the latter were demoralized. Germany and Austria-Hungary combined could not crush Italy when the opportunity to do so was open. How much harder is it, then, for Germany to beat the compact and highly organized armies of France and Britain? There seems to be a limit beyond which organization cannot go, be it ever so efficient. It is still a slave to time, space, the power of gravitation, and the "human element" that throws all plans off the track at the critical moment.

While France and Great Britain hold their communications it need not be feared that Germany can defeat them. Germany's military power is dependent upon many factors which are overlooked in the excitement of one of her tremendous drives. If given time, Germany might utilize Russia as a reservoir for men as the allies can use the United States. But there is no time. Germany must win now or never. She must break out of the steel ring that keeps her from the oceans, or all her effort is vain, for the allies, having the use of the earth's waters, can carry the war on indefinitely and prosper while doing so, whereas Germany cannot live forever on her own reserve fat.

The necessity for relief is shown by the well-nigh frantic efforts of the Germans. They are now throwing in men who have just recovered their breath after the disastrous attacks of March and April. The drive toward the Marne and to the westward is a desperate affair, far more desperate on Germany's part than on the part of the defenders. Probably within another day or two the bulk of the American forces will have been shifted from their quiet sector to aid the allies to the northwestward. But whether the Americans are engaged or not, the opposition encountered by the invaders as they work nearer to Paris becomes stronger and stronger, and the position of the enemy becomes more dangerous.

Germany is overlooking no possible chance to obtain a sea outlet. She has compelled Finland and Russia to agree to a bargain that will give Germany a submarine base on the Murman coast, whence the U-boats may work from the Arctic into the North Sea. The so-called government of Russia has consented to this arrangement on condition that Finland shall yield up two forts in the Baltic, both of which, however, are to be dismantled on orders from Germany.

The enemy intrigues in far eastern Russia are indefatigably endeavoring to gain control of a Pacific outlet. Gen. Semenoff, the anti-bolshevik leader, is checkmating the Germans quite successfully in coöperation with China and Japan, but now Russia makes demands upon China which, if granted, will thrust Semenoff from Manchurian soil. These demands are inspired, of course, by Germany, as are all of the anti-allied moves of the Russian government. It seems probable that Japan must be permitted to take a firm grip upon the situation in the Far East, in behalf of all the allies and Russia. The Russians object to Japanese interference, but it is a question how far this objection is inspired by Germany.

The allies hold the seas. They have the German empire in a vise. Not a German vessel dares be seen on the surface of the waters, and very few of them dare skulk beneath. The submarine, Germany's greatest weapon, greater than her armies in determining the fate of mankind, has been beaten. The Old and the New World hold uninterrupted communication. This means that civilization can accumulate the materials required for sustained warfare, and can keep German naval and commercial fleets off the oceans. The war now being a war of nations, it is not difficult to foresee the end if the observer will take a position above the smoke of battle and somewhat removed from the thunder of the captains and the shouting.

*Saturday, June 1, 1918*

## Through War to Liberty

THE progress of the enemy in the salient between Soissons and Rheims, reaching down to the Marne, is such as to give rise to the question whether his plan is not primarily designed to cut deeply to the eastward of Paris, breaking off the communications of the allied forces operating in eastern and northeastern France. In that region is the greater part of the American army. The communications of the Americans run quite a distance to the southward of the Marne, but the rapidity of the German infantry advance indicates that the allied opposition in that section is almost negligible. The French main forces are evidently massed on the line between Noyon and Ypres, with strong reserves defending Paris. Whether Gen. Foch has calculated upon the possibility of an enemy dash directly southward from the Marne, and has forestalled this dash by posting adequate forces on the lines of communication, may be demonstrated within a few hours.

The German drive is viewed from widely separated standpoints, according to the information and temperament of the individual. The most superficial view is the most pessimistic. If the observer looks merely upon the moving picture, and is disposed to exaggerate the enemy's prowess, he is apt to jump to the conclusion that Germany has administered a staggering blow to the allies and is about to disable France. That conclusion, fortunately, is utterly unwarranted by the facts.

It has been demonstrated again and again during this war that the temporary situation on the battlefields is an untrustworthy guide to correct conclusions. Even when great battles end in overwhelming victory for one side or the other, it is unsafe for the civilian to assume that the end of the war is hastened, much less determined. Many an important city has changed hands during this short war, and yet the war takes no heed of such events. The occupation of stretches of territory or the capture of thousands of prisoners turns out to be nothing but the accident of a day, to be neutralized by the next day's accidents.

Vast influences affecting the human race as a whole must be borne in mind. The savage rupture of all ties of honor, for instance, makes this war unique and prevents any ruler, statesman, general or nation from reckoning with certainty upon the usual elements which con-



strain nations toward peace. Formerly a nation sorely worn down by war could sue for peace, well assured that its enemy would be magnanimous for the sake of restoring friendship and profitable intercourse. But now there is no such assurance. Nations fight to the death, by choice and by necessity. It is worse than death for a nation to surrender to Germany.

Another universally operating element which renders ineffective any German victory short of the conquest of the human race is the determination of mankind to be free. This spirit, imponderable and unseen, is the deadly foe that will pierce the heart of Germany and annihilate its rulers and their works. The armies of France, Britain, Italy, America, and the other allies are mere reminders of that illimitable multitude of human beings inhabiting the earth, who are now, at this hour, aroused and on the march to win liberty or death.

The Ruler of the Universe has permitted astounded humanity to be taken unawares and threatened with universal servitude to creatures who are endowed with capacity for organizing and working in concert, and undeterred by any of the moral scruples which were supposed to distinguish humans from beasts and fiends. The assault having been made, humanity is doing the best it can, as rapidly as it can, to repel the assault, capture and execute the assailant, and establish such order as will insure the race against a repetition of the assault. The effort takes time, money, and life. These expenditures cannot be taken into account if the end is to be achieved; that is, humanity will not remain in danger for the sake of saving time, nor for the sake of saving money, nor for the sake of saving life. The war is not a war against time, nor is it a war aimed at the conservation of money or life at the expense of liberty.

The American chapter of this war is now opening in earnest. The storm is about to burst. Thank God, there is not a coward under the Stars and Stripes in France. The advance guard of this nation will thrill the race with their valor. Americans at home, steel your hearts! Strike down treason. Encourage your public servants when they are efficient and faithful. Thrust them out if they are pacifists or weaklings—thrust them out before they can help the enemy. Watch every enemy alien. Cut out luxury. Destroy the traitor who tries to rob the government. Watch your own appetite toward profiteering, which is simply a method of stabbing your son in the back. Don't study the war map; study yourself and your duty.

*Monday, June 3, 1918*

## Germany's Struggle Against Fate

**I**F THE enemy were now in the first flush and heyday of his strength, as America is, his recent gains of territory in France would be rightly construed as evidence of overwhelming power to win victory. The outcome of the war would be a certainty on the showing made by Germany in the last ten weeks. Why is it, then, that neither in Germany nor in allied nations is there any thought that the end of the war is near? Why is it that the French nation is calm and confident, although the enemy is at the Marne?

The answer is that France, Great Britain, Italy and America have taken Germany's measure and know that the present struggles are evidence of weakness and not of strength. The war is going against Germany in matters of vast and irresistible influence, far transcending in importance and effect any single battle that has ever been fought. The trampling of the German hordes at the Marne strikes the superficial mind as terribly menacing to the allies. The unseen influences that are bearing Germany down to death are not those that impress the ear and eye.

The end of the war is not near, in a count of days or weeks, but it is brought nearer by Germany's exertions, which work for her earlier defeat. One of the opinions frequently heard is that Germany's gains of territory prolong the war, the deduction being that ground lost must be recovered. That might be true if Germany were at the beginning instead of nearing the end of her existence, but gains of territory are often affected by other influences which sometimes make apparent gains real losses. Any war can show a score of instances in which gains of territory were disastrous to the gainer.

Germany is in the sere and yellow leaf as a military power. This is the carefully formed conviction of thoroughly informed and impartially detached neutral military experts, coinciding with the absolute knowledge of the allied governments. Germany's man power was at its peak in March. Since March 21 several hundred thousand Germans have been put out of action and several hundred thousand Americans have gone into action. The subtraction from enemy strength and the addition of allied strength since March 21 constitutes a total which may now, at this moment, spell German defeat, but the process is continuous, and will continue so long as Germany burns up her man power. Every assault upon the allies is more costly to

Germany than to the defenders, at the very moment when the defenders are reinforced by Americans in a rapidly increasing stream.

The military clique that is hurrying the German empire to destruction is now making the last throw of the dice of war. The German armies must either defeat France, Great Britain, Italy, and the United States within a few weeks or the plunder gained in four years of murderous operations against small nations will be lost and the German empire lost with it. What a task! Those fatuous Germans who worship Hindenburg and Ludendorff may now contemplate them facing the task of subjugating the four strongest nations of the world in a few weeks or plunging the whole empire over a precipice. If these generals are supermen, now is their time to extricate the German people from the terrors to come. Surely no human creatures have ever faced a greater undertaking.

Hohenzollern and Hapsburg go down. They are already in the rapids. They struggle vigorously, but in that tremendous current, among those fanged and jagged rocks, under the tempest of the world's wrath, they cannot survive. They snatch at this and that; they shout mutual encouragement; they frantically scheme and plan to thwart the flood and the rocks and the hurricane. Vain, pitifully vain! Their opportunity to avoid danger was before they leaped into war. The world did not seek their lives. They brought the forces of death down upon their own heads when they turned their backs upon God and deliberately used their powers for the murder of nations. The havoc they wrought aroused the wrath and might of mankind, and the storm will not be laid until the causes are destroyed.

Grasp the earth in France, Hohenzollern! Cling to it as firmly as you can! Any one who has hung above Niagara in a dream, and has experienced that cold grip of death around the heart as the earth gave way, can understand exactly how Germany feels.



*Thursday, June 6, 1918*

## Allies Must Help Russia

THE ALLIES are fighting Germany only in one place. It is true that they are temporarily inferior in numbers and have no choice but to fight against an enemy offensive. Their resources, however, are not confined to the western front, and it is quite within the possibilities that all the fighting on the western front will be indecisive so far as the defeat of Germany is concerned. Germany cannot force a decision in her favor on that front. She is up against the strongest side of the three strongest nations in the world, one of them much stronger than herself and rapidly concentrating its strength against her. After the balance has turned and German forces are outnumbered, the work of ejecting the enemy from France will begin in earnest and will never let up.

But in the meantime there is much to be done elsewhere, and Germany is doing it on her side. Her offensive in France does not deter her from the work of absorbing Finland, penetrating Russia, assimilating Roumania and Ukrainia, intriguing in Mexico and South America, opening up the Black Sea, working toward Persia, and otherwise carrying on the war. What are the allies doing in all these war areas to defeat German encroachment?

Germany can stand on the defensive a long time on the western front, after she has been halted. The allies' defensive enables the United States to gather a force that will eventually overmatch Germany's. Will not Germany's defensive then enable her to reassemble forces that will eventually overmatch America's, if the allies do not checkmate those efforts?

Russia is the great storehouse of military resources for Germany. Leave Germany alone and she will develop a system in Russia that will not only be able to defy but to conquer the whole world, America included. If it be argued that Russians will not consent to become soldiers in a vast army under German control, let it be asked how the individual Russians can keep out of the German uniform, once Germany has established her system in Russia. There are now in the enemy's uniform tens of thousands of men who are deadly enemies of Germany and Austria, men who would willingly lay down their lives if by so doing they could break Germany's hold upon their country. But they can do nothing; they must fight for Germany

until an opportunity arrives for successful mutiny and revolution. The same condition would control Russian soldiers.

The allies cannot afford to become so absorbed in the western front as to lose the war. They must broaden their view and adopt Germany's method of fighting the war everywhere, wherever advantage is to be found. The situation in Russia clamors for statesmanship in the allied nations. It is a reproach to the allied nations that they should go on month after month, without unity of counsel, while Germany utilizes every moment to fasten her grip upon Russia. Where is the foresight of the allied rulers? Where are their diplomats? Has all the initiative concerning Russia passed to Germany, and must the allies accept humbly whatever Germany decrees for Russia? In that case the war is lost eventually, whatever the result of the struggle in France.

Men like former President Taft see clearly the absolute necessity of lifting Russia to her feet. It is not solely an altruistic task. It is primarily in self-defense that the western allies must save Russia. If they do not keep Germany out of Russia they will not be able to keep Germany out of France and England and America. The seeds of future conquest of the world are now being sown by Germany in Russia. The allies have the easier task, which is to frustrate Germany's attempts. If they will not take counsel and agree upon some plan to save Russia they need not boast of their unified command in the west, for the war will be only beginning.

There are several ways in which the allies can act immediately in behalf of Russia. The statesmen and soldiers of the allied nations should confer and agree upon the best plan. Germany's cunning men are not all on the fighting front, but are busy in Russia making war in a peculiarly effective manner. The allies' cunning men should be there thwarting the Germans and aiding Russia to organize a self-governing republic with an army capable of defeating Germany.

*Monday, June 10, 1918*

## Preparing to Strike America

THE audacity of the Americans in attacking and driving back an enemy force at Chateau Thierry, besides halting German progress elsewhere, and American persistence in sending troop and food ships across the ocean as though the submarines did not exist, have put the Germans in a towering rage. The hate that spurred them forward to commit atrocities against the English people will soon be manifested toward Americans if German diabolism can find a way to vent itself. If they cannot beat Americans in battle they will torture American prisoners and American civilians, if they think they can do so without bringing down a fivefold retribution from this country.

The German military chiefs are preparing to hit the Americans a heavy blow. It may not be a stroke like that which was to shatter France and England in March and April, but it will test the quality of the Americans holding the line in northeastern France. German forces have been accumulating for several days for a thrust in the Woevre region, where the Americans are the chief force opposing them.

There is considerable military advantage to be gained by a forward movement of the Germans in that section, if it can be accomplished without too much cost. The Germans do not hold all of the Briey basin yet, and that is one of their main objectives. Long ago, as far back as 1890, it was pointed out by pan-Germanists that Germany would have to obtain control of the Briey and Longwy coal and iron regions if it expected to gain and maintain the upper hand against France. During this war the Germans have aimed consistently at the conquest of these fields, but Verdun has stood impregnably across their path and made futile all their local holdings.

Perhaps the Germans calculate that a new route and method of attack may enable them to circumvent Verdun, while at the same time giving them an opportunity to stupefy the American nation by destroying its army in the field. This would be a stroke worth while, inasmuch as it would secure material gains and also exhilarate the German people, who are afraid of the steady flow of force from America and skeptical of the assurances of the German leaders since they failed to sink American transports. When airships drop bombs upon south German towns the cry goes up, "The Americans! The Ameri-



cans!" and the authorities find some difficulty in inventing new lies to keep the people reassured.

It is true that the airships are not American-made or American-flown, but it is also true that an American airship fleet is coming into being, with American fliers already trained and ready to operate the fleet against Germany. Thus, thanks to the allied control of the sea, America will soon be able to bombard Germany while Germany will be unable to return the compliment. The German war chiefs, who know all this, are anxious to forestall such a situation by destroying the small American army, breaking up transport communications, terrorizing the American coast and otherwise nullifying American war efforts.

We hope the German war chiefs will redouble their energies against the United States. They will do this country more good than harm by stirring it to exertions really commensurate with its capacity. What the United States has done thus far is good, very good, if compared with the accomplishments of Greece, Nicaragua and other belligerents, but it is very far below what the United States could have done and must do to win the war. The German submarine raids on this coast have done more good than harm, by causing the establishment of a coastwise convoy service and a more rigid patrol of the coast, and by arousing the war spirit of the country.

Germany is the terror of European nations because she is armed to the teeth and determined to fight to the death rather than forego her plans to dominate other nations and profit by their riches and their labor. The United States must give the knockout blow to this outlaw, but it cannot do it without putting on arms and going into the fight with the determination to kill. Its strength must be materialized and put into action, and not be mere potential strength supported solely by oratory and lackadaisical neglect of opportunity. While the bulletheads muster their strength and murder their way to victory, Americans have been too much disposed to put their trust in braggadocio and fake airplane programs. Therefore, a direct thrust by the Germans, delivered squarely in the face of the United States, will do much to stir this nation into real efficiency.

*Tuesday, June 11, 1918*

## Fury and Failure

THE fury of the attack now being made by the Germans against the French in the Montdidier region is said to excel anything yet seen in the war. The onslaught, however, is not on as great a scale as the offensives of March and April. Taking these two facts into consideration, together with the elements making up the situation in which Germany finds itself, and what is the reasonable inference to be drawn?

It is absurd to presume that Germany is stronger now than she was on March 21, 1918, when, after months of careful preparation, after her men were all rested and reëquipped, and after she had transported from the Russian front a great army to reinforce the western front, she struck the blow at a place not revealed to the allies. In that blow, under personal command of the emperor, the German empire concentrated all the strength it possessed in men, material, esprit and the advantage of surprise against an antagonist who was not fully prepared, whose supreme command was not a unit, and who was not appreciably reinforced by Americans at the point of attack.

The German emperor led his huge army to defeat and not to victory. They failed to break the French and British armies. At the end of eight days of superhuman effort they were still within the inexorable circle which civilization has forged around the barbarians and within which they are doomed to die. Another tremendous effort to break the chains was made in April, the blow being directed against the British in the hope of reaching the English Channel. It failed. Again the conspirators at the head of the German machine realized that they were trapped and beaten, and that their waning forces were now confronted with ever-increasing fresh troops from America.

Finding that the Franco-British forces were centered on the lines lately under attack, the enemy shifted some of his storming troops and made a drive to the Marne on a narrow front, hoping to swing westward and sweep toward Paris. Although he made progress when his forces outnumbered the defenders by five to one, he struck a stone wall when French and American reinforcements came up, and the net result of the experiment was another heavy death roll of Germans.

Now the desperate and frantic German emperor orders a fresh slaughter of his people by beginning an offensive where there is no

element of surprise, and where the reinforced allied armies are ready for the shock. The result of the encounter is more furious fighting than ever, as the German command presses its human material against the fiery point of contact. Yet the allies this time do not yield ground generously, as they have done heretofore. Why? Evidently because the very fury of the German onslaught against a prepared position means that a stout defense will collect a highly profitable toll of German blood. Gen. Foch is calculating the cost at all times, while his desperate antagonist cannot any longer stop to count the cost. If Foch finds that the allied losses are too severe he will yield ground, but if he finds that the proportion of German killed runs high enough to bleed the hostile army of its strength he will hold his forces where they are and keep his guns hot.

Every stroke the Germans have made since March 21 has been weaker than the one preceding. This fact stands out and the Germans cannot conceal it. It gives the lie to German pretense and exposes the fatal inferiority of German military power in the full test of strength. If the history of the world was to be changed by German victory on the western front, as announced by the German emperor on the night of March 20 when he issued his order, why is it that Germany neglects to win the victory and in the meantime squanders 350,000 to 600,000 men?

The simple truth is that Germany has passed the peak of her military superiority and is on the decline. The allies are stronger than Germany, and grow stronger every day. They are not yet strong enough to take the German army and throw it bodily out of France, but they can and will shatter that army if the United States will continue the dispatch of troops sufficient for the purpose. The world can breathe freely concerning the fundamental security of France and Great Britain. Those nations are firm-rooted in invincible strength against which the hordes of Germany beat in vain. The task now before the allied world is not to accumulate forces for defense, but for offense. The glorious attacks by the United States marines may become the turning point at which the allied armies ceased to be defenders only, and assumed their later character as irresistible avengers of humanity.

A few more struggles, a few more months of effort by the united nations of civilization, a few more vigorous and confident rebounds from temporary setbacks and the enemy of mankind will be at the point of Liberty's blade.



*Wednesday, June 12, 1918*

## Great Opportunities Neglected

**W**HILE the German armies are wearing themselves down to defeat in France in the insane attempt to destroy the French and British armies, it is incumbent upon the allies to be using their wits in devising means of expediting victory. Within a few weeks, as the war is going, the allies will have before them the duty of assuming the aggressive. The German armies will have been outfought; the German people will realize that their imperial chief highwayman has led them into a fatal trap; the horrors of famine and cold will assail the German nation, which will see that the plunder taken from small prostrate nations cannot be retained; the victim nations will begin to revive hopes of resuscitation; the oppressed peoples of Austria-Hungary and Turkey will see the possibility of successful revolution, and neutrals that have been inclined to back Germany will perceive that the German military system is doomed.

What are the allied governments doing to promote these movements? What is the political policy of the allies?

So far as allied influence upon events is ascertainable, there is no political policy uniting the allied nations. They are carrying on nobly in military and naval matters, but they seem to be neglecting the equally important field of political strategy. Nay, they are pursuing conflicting individual policies in many cases when they should have amalgamated their interests long ago in one comprehensive political scheme.

There is abundant opportunity for the exercise of national political policies by each of the allies, while at the same time coöperating in a general political policy toward the enemy and toward neutrals. The large and vital interests of the allies are identical, and they can be compressed into one word—survival. Until the survival of each of the allied nations is made sure beyond the power of any enemy to destroy it, the allies have no right to pursue individual policies working to the detriment of the common cause. Nor have they any right to strike out independently for survival itself, if such action would be injurious to another ally. The allies cannot hope to fight and defeat Germany singly. They cannot expect Germany to spare any ally that may be tempted to pursue a policy contradictory to the best interests of all. Germany, instead of being grateful to an enemy

for any act of forbearance or courtesy, would merely take advantage of it to slaughter that nation sooner than otherwise.

Russia must be helped. Why do the allies hesitate? They should allot small and tried detachments of troops to an international force to be sent into Siberia to serve as a rallying point for all loyal and sensible Russians. If the bolsheviki attack this force, let it kill off the bolsheviki. The bolsheviki are not the Russian people, but an ulcerous excrescence similar to the I. W. W. of America.

Austria must be dismembered. Why do not the allies get busy? Are they afraid of Karl Hapsburg, the occupant of a bloody and usurping throne? That throne should have been knocked over and ground to dust centuries ago. It cannot stand against the hurricane that is sweeping the earth free of tyrants, usurpers and nation slayers. Down with it! It is a reproach to the free nations of the earth that they stand dumb while millions of liberty-loving people are trying to break the Hapsburg bonds. By fire and sword, by guile and artifice, by money and bomb, the free men of the world should tear to pieces the Hapsburg empire along with the Hohenzollern system that is trying to strangle the liberties of all men.

This war does not end by the halting of the barbarians at the gates of Paris. It ends only when there are no organized barbarians armed with the weapons of science. There is no middle ground. Free men have their work cut out for them if they desire to remain free. They have the power to destroy their would-be destroyer. Up and at him, then! Not only by ancient methods sanctioned by treaties—treaties are no more—but by methods of extermination should the free nations destroy the robber nations. Propaganda is as destructive as bombs, yet the free nations do not use it. Political weapons are more powerful than armies, yet the allies do not even hold political conferences except as purely incidental and subordinate adjuncts of military operations. They leave to Germany the immense field of political warfare, where deadly weapons of inconceivable efficiency are wholly at Germany's command. Let the allies look at what Germany has done in Russia, absolutely without let or hindrance by any organized allied effort, and then blush for permitting the enemy to outwit and outmaneuver them.

Where is the allied leader who will have the simple good sense to propose an immediate conference of the allies with a view to organizing united political action against the enemy?

*Thursday, June 20, 1918*

## Where the Allies Should Strike

**G**ERMANY has recently passed the zenith of her military power. If the German army does not succeed in beating the allied forces within the next few weeks Germany may be expected to go on the defensive for a year or two while she is engaged in developing a new army in Russia. She probably feels that if she cannot beat the allies, neither can they beat her. By presenting a solid front and maintaining a waiting attitude, Germany doubtless calculates that the allies and America cannot drive her back to the Rhine before she can raise an immense army of Russians. Then, with a fresh army of say, 10,000,000 men, with reserves of 20,000,000 to draw upon, Germany could resume the offensive with very good prospects of becoming mistress of the world.

Who is preventing Germany from exploiting Russia? Who has stepped in and kept Germany out of Courland, Esthonia, Poland, Bessarabia, Ukrainia and Finland? No one. That territory is now German. The population is no longer Russian. The able-bodied men of those provinces are subject to service in the German army. They are now putting on the German uniform and acquiring the goose step. Individually they may protest, but collectively they obey. When Germany needs more Russian territory she has but to show her teeth, snarl over Russia's crime in muddying the water downstream, and annex a few million square versts and a few million candidates for cannon fodder. The Germanizing of Russia, in short, is already in full swing.

If Germany now is temporarily on the decline in man power while the allies, through America's help, are becoming stronger, it is evidently the right moment to strike for the purpose of disabling Germany and preventing her from raising a fresh army. Where shall the stroke be delivered? If in France and Flanders, it must be indecisive, just as Germany's heaviest strokes have failed to break down the allies. It would require an enormous army, vastly greater than Americans have in mind, to defeat the German armies in France and Flanders. Before the allies can raise such an army Germany may have doubled her forces from the Russian reservoir.

The enemy should be struck at his weak point, as well as where he is armor-plated and double-shotted. If Germany had chosen France as a field for defeatism and disintegration, and had tried to



set up a French Lenine and a French Trotzky as traitors to deliver France over to destruction, there would have been a different story. Germany sought out the weak point in the allied armor, and found it in Russia. Then, by superlative cunning and energy, she broke down Russia and achieved a greater triumph than has ever been achieved by force of arms. The German victory in Russia has cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen, Britishers and Italians, and many Americans are doomed to die because of the absence of Russia from the battle line.

Why not give Germany a dose of this terrible medicine by breaking down Austria? Germany is cunning, but she has no monopoly of brains. The allies can command first-class intellect for the accomplishment of the disruption of Austria. The heavy artillery needed is intellect, with bullets as incidental aids. Austria is in worse condition than Russia was when Germany saw and acted upon her opportunity to bring about a marvelous change in the war. Instead of confining her ambition to the Berlin-Bagdad scheme, Germany expanded it to include the Hamburg-Herat hegemony. Unless she is disabled she will be actually in control of one-tenth of the earth's surface within a few months, with every prospect of extending these possessions. Germany's weak point is Austria and the two smaller satellites, Bulgaria and Turkey. The allies should strike at these and demolish them without compunction or delay. If the allies do not strike betimes they themselves will be compelled to fight Germany plus Russia—a prospect sufficient to appall the stoutest hearts on either side of the Atlantic.

If Japan is willing to go into Russia to hold back the Germans, the allies should bid her godspeed. The Japanese "peril," if it should materialize, can be looked after when it comes. Let us have one peril at a time. The immediate peril is Germany. It would be supremely foolish to forego the opportunity to deal a heavy blow at Germany for fear that Japan would not keep faith. Japan has kept faith. Germany has not.

While Japan is doing her best to stem the German flood in the Far East the allies should strike hard at Austria, by every means in their power, but principally by revolutionary propaganda, aided by naval aggression in the Adriatic. The Italian, French and American fleets are free to operate there. They should be bombarding and destroying Pola, occupying Trieste and Fiume, and outflanking the Austrian forces on the Piave.

*Friday, June 28, 1918*

## What Kind of Peace for Germany?

UNDER the spur of necessity the tremendous military organization wielded by the German emperor is to be used in another effort to break down the allied armies and take Paris or the Channel ports. The days of preparation must be few, and since Austria's reverse the preparatory days have been reduced to hours. The political, economic and military conditions in the enemy empires imperatively demand victory or peace without delay. If peace cannot be carved out of the allies with a sword, Germany and Austria must get peace in some other way. Without peace they cannot hold what they have gained, and without holding what they have gained they cannot get victory.

Foreign Secretary von Kuehlmann says there can be no decision by military force. If he means German military force he is undoubtedly right, as manifested by Germany's failure to obtain this decision last March, when all circumstances united to favor her offensive. If he means allied military force he is wrong, because the allies have barely begun to mass their potential strength. The United States is the strongest power that is arrayed against Germany, and it has placed in France only 1,000,000 of its fighting men. It is foolish of Dr. von Kuehlmann to say that a decision cannot be reached by military force, in view of the overwhelming destructive forces that America is organizing against the enemy.

Long before America has actually developed and applied all her strength, the enemy doubtless will have gained peace. The allies devoutly believe that Germany's peace will be the peace of defeat. They have accurate information concerning the interior conditions in Germany and Austria-Hungary, and the conditions in countries conquered by Germany, and they know that unless Germany can hold occupied territory and make it produce food the war will have to come to an end by Germany's surrender. In order to hold occupied territory the German army must defeat the allied armies, constantly increasing in strength and daily becoming more menacing. How can Germany be strong in the field and weak in the bread basket? That is the insoluble problem that underlies Von Kuehlmann's admission that the war cannot be settled by military force.

Pending the hour when Germany must compromise between famine and greed, the German army is strong and the necessity of

victory such as to drive the emperor and his captains to test the fateful issue. They will strike for Paris and the Channel. If they fail they will have sacrificed a few hundred thousand Germans, the winter will be at hand, and some stratagem such as a mirage of spoils in Russia will have to be devised to delude the German people into continuing support of the war. If they win they will be able, they hope, to force France out of the war and possibly to cut off the American communications. Then they would have hopes of beating the British army and obtaining peace with victory.

The allies are ready for the German attack. There is no fear that the Germans will reach either Paris or the Channel, no matter what sacrifices they may make. In the meantime, having made their lines impregnable, the allies are actively engaged in plans for making German schemes in Russia come to naught. Much more has been accomplished in the creation of a definite allied policy than has been made public. The United States is the leader in the plans to aid Russia. The President may see fit to give the public, and, of course, the enemy an inkling of what is to come, but if he should maintain silence it will not be the silence of doubt and inaction.

If there were some evidences of allied propaganda in Austria-Hungary and activity by the allied fleets in the Adriatic, there would seem to be no further development of energy required to encompass the defeat of the Germans. While Russia is being propped up, the props should be knocked from under Austria. One effort supplements the other, and both may be necessary to settle the war. It is evident, at any rate, that the Hapsburg dynasty must follow the Hohenzollern dynasty to the rubbish heap if the nations of Europe are to be free and safe. Austria will be dismembered in any event when the German power is destroyed, but it ought to be apparent to the United States that Austria's dismemberment would be equivalent to amputating the left arm of Germany's power. Germany would be vastly easier to beat with the Hapsburg empire canceled and with anti-German kingdoms and republics arising in its place. The moment Austria is dissolved, Germany's dream of absorbing Russia dissolves with it.



Wednesday, July 3, 1918

## Nations Becoming Free

**I**T IS fitting, on the anniversary of Konniggratz, when the Hapsburgs passed under the control of the Hohenzollerns, that France should recognize the independence of Bohemia, that portion of Austria which at this moment has well-organized military forces of its own fighting in Russia, France and Italy for the allied cause. The recognition of the independence of the Czechoslovak people was made this week by M. Pichon, minister of foreign affairs of France, as follows:

"At the moment when the first unit of the Czechoslovak army in France prepares itself, after receiving its flag, to go to a sector on the front with its French brothers in arms, the French government considers it just and necessary to proclaim the rights of your nation to independence, and to recognize officially the national council as the supreme representative of the future Czechoslovak government."

Fifty-two years ago today the corrupt house of Hapsburg was beaten in battle by the Prussians, acting under the political strategy of Bismarck. The actual cost to Germany of the acquisition of 3,500,000 population resulting from the conquest of Austria, was only 3,473 German soldiers killed. Four years later, with Bismarck still at the helm, Germany acquired Alsace and Lorraine at a cost of only 30,000 German soldiers killed. It was an easy and cheap process of expansion. All that was needed was brains to distinguish when and where to strike and when to be satisfied. The present German emperor dismissed Bismarck and started on a great plan of his own, which was to enable Germany to dominate the world at one fell swoop. Thus far Germany has squandered the lives of 2,500,000 German soldiers and has not permanently conquered anything, not even Belgium. So the account stands as follows:

Austria-Hungary .....	3,473
France .....	30,000
The world (task unfinished).....	2,500,000

It is little wonder that the high cost of conquest is crushing Germany and the Germans. If Bismarck could return and give Hohenzollern a few pointers on the advantages of moderation he might save the lives of a few million more Germans.

It would be most inspiring to all lovers of liberty, bound and free, if President Wilson tomorrow, at the grave of Washington, should

proclaim that the United States government recognizes that the people of Bohemia are and of right ought to be free and independent, and that the United States will do all in its power to aid them to throw off the Hapsburg yoke. That would be a guarantee of the establishment of self-government among nations that are now under the oppression of autocracy. It would give the people of Russia encouragement. It would hearten the Poles, the Jugoslavs, the Roumanians, and the Armenians who groan under the German lash. Bohemia is entitled to this recognition at this time because of the thorough organization of the provisional government and the fact that there is a Bohemian army and a Bohemian flag side by side with the allies.

The decayed Hapsburg system would be struck a terrible blow by this American recognition of Bohemian independence. The Austro-Hungarian "government," which consists of a band of Teuton-Magyar conspirators, acting on orders from Berlin, would realize that when the United States Congress declared war on Austria and pledged the resources of this nation to victory it meant that there would be no compromise, no turning back while there was any subject race in the Hapsburg dominions.

The Fourth of July would take on a more glorious meaning tomorrow if the spokesman of this republic should declare that this nation will not make peace while its sister nations are under the yoke. That is the real meaning of the declarations of war against Germany and Austria, but this meaning has not been clearly conveyed to the fainting souls that compose the oppressed nations of the boche empires. Since it is now perfectly evident that the war cannot end while the enemy holds nations in bondage, the sooner the allies recognize the independence of oppressed nations and assist them to gain their freedom the sooner the war will end.

*Wednesday, July 10, 1918*

## The Struggle Over Russia

**I**T IS not generally known that Count von Mirbach, the German Minister recently slain in Moscow, made a secret proposition to the middle-of-the-road Russians about May 20, offering in Germany's name to throw over the bolsheviki and revise the treaty of Brest-Litovsk more liberally for the Russians, if the Russians would agree to this separate peace and keep the allies at arm's length. Count von Mirbach promised the Russians that a German force would enter Moscow and Petrograd and drive the bolsheviki out within twenty-four hours from the signing of the protocol.

The Russians who received this proposal from the German Minister rejected it instantly. Nevertheless, they did not question the intent of the German government to execute the proposal to the letter if it should be accepted. The proposal was not a mere piece of German duplicity, but was evidently in pursuance of Germany's solid conviction that the bolsheviki could not retain their hold upon Russian affairs, even with German support. Germany, being unable to overrun Russia with soldiers, must exercise diplomacy while the struggle is on along the western front. Russia is certain to coalesce the scattered elements of political union in some form. Even chaos evolves some limitations and works toward order. The Russian necessities will compel the creation of some kind of government. It cannot be bolshevik government, since the cornerstone of bolshevism is discrimination which sets neighbors to slitting one another's throats and disputing all authority. Trotzky at this moment is engaged in the task of arming poor peasants so that they may rob the rich peasants. If this is not a sure method of avoiding success in government, none was ever invented.

Since the Germans are practical and foresee the inevitable downfall of bolshevism in Russia, it is quite reasonable to expect them to cast about for an element in Russia which will organize a government and make separate peace to suit Germany. No doubt this work is going on with great energy. Unless German intriguants and corruptionists are busily at work among Russian political parties and leaders, the brains that engineered the wonderful disintegration of Russia have lost their cunning.

It is to Germany's advantage to have a friendly government in Russia, not mere anarchy. There is no advantage to the enemy in



attempting to swallow Russia, at any rate not now. It is costly to support a weak government and dangerous to support a treacherous one. A German-made government in Russia, that is, an iron rule by German military governors, would be costly, ineffective and perilous, besides interfering with Germany's obvious plans in other parts of the world. Therefore the best plan for Germany to adopt is that which Count von Mirbach attempted to put into effect; a new compact with a strong element, to be set up in place of the bolsheviki.

If that is Germany's aim in Russia, having in view of course the most speedy exploitation of Russian materials for German use, then the task of the allies is made somewhat clearer. Evidently it is not wise for the allies to deal with the bolsheviki, for they are important now, and would surely be destroyed by Germany if they should last long enough to make a deal with the allies. The allies should lose no time in advising the Russian people that plans are on foot to aid them to recover possession of their own government in every root and branch. The Russians should be warned not to countenance any bargain with the Germans through any political party or agency, under any guise, no matter how plausibly the advantages of separate peace with Germany may be set forth. They should be reminded that offers to revise the treaty of Brest-Litovsk are empty assurances of changes in a scrap of paper. Germany violated the treaty before the ink was dry.

The resurrection of Russia is not the long and heart-breaking task it has been held out to be, if the allies will undertake it promptly and effect it according to well laid and workable plans. It is a struggle of wits more than of guns, although there will be blood-letting. Let the allies always work with and through the Russians, for the Russians, and they will win. The regeneration should begin in Siberia, where the people are unaffected by bolshevism and are opposed to separate peace. With Siberia strong and organized, the redemption of Great Russia would follow in spite of German intrigue and German guns.

*Friday, July 12, 1918*

## **The Lesson of Pan-German Gains**

**T**HOSE individuals who fondly count upon the collapse of Germany as the easy way out of the war should study the circumstances surrounding the resignation of the German minister of foreign affairs, Dr. von Kuehlmann, and the character of the man selected to succeed him. Von Kuehlmann's offense is that he said in his recent address to the reichstag, "We all know that victory cannot be reached by military means," or words to that effect. It does not matter that the address was approved by the kaiser before it was delivered; it is sufficient that the address ran contrary to the militarist pan-German element that controls Germany. Any one who suggests curtailment of German ambition to win victory over the world by brute force is so obnoxious that the pan-German party immediately sets about to encompass his downfall.

The allied and neutral nations would not care what the pan-Germans thought or what they did to such men as Von Kuehlmann if there was no basis for pan-German hopes. The danger of the situation lies where it did in 1914, in the incapacity of the civilized world to grasp the reality of pan-German plans and the ruthless determination of the militarists to carry them into effect, over the body of civilization itself.

Men talk of diplomacy guiding Germany, and of the prospects of making peace by agreement with Germany. It is rubbish. The diplomats of Germany gain and remain in power only when they execute the will of the pan-Germans. German diplomacy consists of intrigue and treachery supplementing the work of the sword for the conquest of the world. If any German diplomatist should so far forget himself as to deal honestly with any allied nation he would surely lose his office and perhaps his life. The system which grips Germany has long ago eliminated any element of fair play or regard for world opinion. The system compels its adherents to outdo one another in naked devotion to ruthlessness. Thus the militarists become more and more savage in their warfare, and the diplomatists more and more tortuous and base in their utterances and negotiations.

The pan-Germans unfortunately have much to support their case. They have actually enlarged the boundaries of the empire and increased its stores of raw materials. Mittel Europa at the be-

ginning of the war was a dream which the pan-Germanists hoped to make a fact. It is now a fact which the allies must make a dream at any cost. If the allies had quickly grasped the reality of Germany's aims and Germany's readiness to abandon all the restraints of civilization, they would have been able to checkmate the movement before it had destroyed Serbia, Roumania and Russia. But now those ends have been accomplished, and it is for the allies to set them aside. The status quo favors pan-Germany. It is only by overturning what the pan-Germanists have done that the world will be where it was in 1914, to say nothing of the further task of liberating oppressed peoples and adjusting national boundaries so that there shall be no further justification for war.

What is the lesson that can be drawn from the pan-German gains up to date? Obviously, the first lesson is that the allies must discard the utterly baseless notion that Germany will make peace at heavy sacrifice. The next lesson is that the allies have aided Germany by permitting themselves to be deceived over and over again by plausible peace overtures. The allies have dealt with a Germany of their imagination which is entirely different from the real Germany. The third lesson is that the allies have always been divided in political council, while Germany's political and military policies have nearly always been harmonious and mutually helpful to the end in view.

Many months have elapsed since it became evident that Russia would be Germanized unless assisted by the allies. Yet the allies have not been able to agree upon a political or military policy concerning Russia. If Germany had been as halting and undecided when the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was on the tapis, she would have lost the greatest victory of the war. But she acted with astonishing quickness in executing a sharply defined plan. The result was a bloodless conquest of one-seventh of the globe containing a population of 180,000,000 individuals. From that hour the burden upon France, Great Britain and Italy has been well-nigh crushing, and only the opportune appearance of American strength has saved the world from German conquest.

These incontestable facts imperatively warn the allies to get together and agree upon a political plan to be executed by political, military and naval power working in strict harmony. No national interest in any allied country should be made more important than the defeat of Germany.



*Sunday, July 14, 1918*

## No Halt, No Truce, Nothing but Victory

**F**RANCE, drawing fresh inspiration from this anniversary of her liberty, awaits with heroic soul the next assault of the enemy. That the assault is coming, and in tremendous force, is not to be doubted. Germany's situation is such that a failure to press the offensive this summer would mean a dangerous impairment of morale in the army and among the people, because of the enforced necessity of taking the defensive against forces made numerically superior by the large accessions from the United States. When the hour comes for Germany to fight desperately to hold ground against the illimitable "hordes" of Americans there will be plenty of work for the scientifically organized staff of morale stimulators and victory soothsayers of the empire. Up to this time these misleaders of German opinion have had falsehood as a faithful ally. Now they must meet the aggressions of truth.

The delay in starting the German offensive has worked well for the allies by enabling American troops to be landed in large numbers. When the transports deliver 90,000 men a week, as is now the case, the allies may well breathe more freely as they go over the battle front and tighten up every loose place. It is probable that Germany still outnumbered the allies on the western front, but the disparity is not so great as to cause apprehension of such perilous crises as those which marked the offensives of March 21 and May 27.

Every soldier's heart on the allied side is made stronger by the clearer knowledge that now prevails regarding the fundamental issue of the war and the necessity of fighting until decisive victory is achieved. When armies have the suspicion that political authority may nullify their efforts at any moment by suspending hostilities, the fighting is not apt to be to a finish. It is now universally recognized in allied armies that there will be no such fatal mistake as an agreement for an armistice. The fighting will go on to victory, and the enemy will be able to make peace only on the allies' terms. That is the meaning of every recent utterance by allied leaders, including the "no compromise" address by President Wilson, pronounced over the body of George Washington.

Thus the allied armies, down to the last man, are inspired by the thought that they will be permitted to share in the war that is to strike off the shackles of men and nations. It is a glorious army, on a

mission that ennobles human nature, and every soldier who helps to deal these mighty blows is to be envied, whatever may befall him. The flags of free nations, surrounding the unconquerable flag of France, are moving forward to the certain destruction of the power that assails them. They will not halt for parley or truce; they will not shrink from gas, shell, or airy rains of death; they will not be content with the mere withdrawal of the enemy from the lands he has ravaged; they will pursue, beat down, disarm, and if necessary they will exterminate the enemy armies and the organization behind them.

What is the driving force that confronts this immortal spirit of the allies? Is the German army animated by any ideal which induces men to leap into battle and drink glory from death? The strongest driving force behind the German legions is greed. The German people are convinced that by brute force under cunning direction they can rob neighboring nations of their lives and property. The success thus far achieved has had the effect of inflaming the greed that has become so conspicuous in the German character. The Germans have tasted the sweets of spoils. They have thrown away the old restraints which made them God-fearing, frugal, and law-abiding. They are covering their crimes now with heaps of booty, and are trying to still their conscience by showing how necessary for German safety it is to assassinate other nations.

There is no permanence or finality in such a spirit. Contrasted with the spirit of liberty which animates the allied armies, the greed motive of Germany and the Germans is seen to be a bestial passion which will suddenly vanish in adversity. It is inherently false and cowardly. There is nothing in it with which to hold men to the banners and give them joy in battle.

Above all the temporary successes of the enemy, above the clouded counsels which sometimes prevent the allies from acting quickly and unitedly, above all the terrors and trials of nations made victims of German greed, looms the spirit of Liberty. That glorious figure hovers over the front of the allies, and with the patience of eternity she awaits the moment to drive home the fatal blade.

*Tuesday, July 16, 1918*

## Just Beginning to Fight

EVIDENTLY political reasons have dictated the route of the German offensive that began yesterday. The rapidly growing American army has required the German general staff to take some action which might be used to reassure the German army and people. Every American army officer has recognized the fact that while the army was getting into its stride it would be subject to an attack by an overwhelming force for the sake of the civic and military morale throughout pan-Germany. Thorough drubbing of the Americans, in German reasoning, would dishearten them while electrifying Germany and giving absolute proof that Germany is about to dominate the world.

The line along the Marne is not heavily defended. The British masses are in Flanders, where they belong, and the bulk of the French armies is protecting Amiens and Compiègne. Gen. Foch has well disposed of his forces. He has a strong reserve which can be thrown in when needed. The place selected by the Germans gives them an opportunity to work toward Paris, to attack the main line railroad running via Chalons, and to outnumber the Americans and perhaps give them a beating. Whether these objects will be accomplished remains to be seen. The first day's onslaught netted the Germans some gains, as must be expected when locally superior forces make a lunge forward with little or no regard for the cost.

Let us presume that the Germans gain their objects—that they draw nearer Paris, cut the Chalons line, and defeat the Americans. What then? Are they nearer victory, or do their efforts mean nothing more than spouts of blood flowing from dying exertions?

The settled confidence of France, England, Italy and the United States is something more than ignorant optimism. It is the deadly calm of nations which have determined their course of action and have staked their existence on their decision. Nothing is paramount to the duty of executing this decision. No expense, no effort, no expenditure of life, no extension of time or toil is counted against the supreme task of slaying the military monster that threatens them. There can be no victory for the Germans while France, England, Italy and the United States stand erect and armed. Every foot of advance by German forces must be retraced by the remnant of those forces, in blood and agony and death. That is the decision.



Can the free nations enforce their will? They are in process of doing so. The faint-hearted and the short-sighted may hear nothing but German guns and see nothing but German gains on the western front. The stout-hearted and the long-sighted hear and see more of the truth. The war is not solely the western front. It does not hinge upon a battle or even upon Paris. Thousands of factors affect the war, and so complicated and uncertain are these factors that no human brain can assemble and weigh them in a single survey. Discussion of them must be confined to generalities. It must suffice to suggest that the struggle should be considered as a whole, not by sections. If the Americans should rush into Germany and take a city there would be rejoicing, but no one in this country would be so foolish as to look for the downfall of the German empire as a consequence of that brilliant stroke. So the German advance determines little or nothing, and certainly not the outcome of the war.

If it should develop that the Germans have overwhelmed the Americans in the Chateau Thierry region and killed large numbers of our men, the war will have begun anew instead of having moved toward victory for the enemy. America has just begun to fight. The nation will mourn the death of every lad who falls in this struggle, but the mourning will be for heroes who have fallen on the shining path of victory. The flag of Liberty will remain aloft, and the forges of Liberty will glare with fiercer fires. The great allies stand as guardians of humanity. They consider the end. They know they hold the sword of fate.

*Friday, July 19, 1918*

## The Counterstroke

THE story of the counterstroke delivered yesterday by Gen. Foch will be read with intense enthusiasm throughout the civilized world. The gallant French and American troops participating in the attack between Fontenoy and Belleau wood are envied by all soldiers under the allied flags, and are deserving of the highest honors that their governments can bestow. These forces have had the privilege of striking the first blow in what is confidently believed by many trained observers to be the opening phase of a new struggle in which Germany will be overmatched and pushed back on the retreat that must end in defeat and surrender. It is not assumed that Gen. Foch will begin a major offensive at this time, but his counterstroke is so powerful and the defensive of the Germans is so ineffective that vast alterations of the lines may occur soon.

The part which the Americans played in the counterstroke inspires the people of this country with gratefulness and pride. They are grateful to the American lads for meeting their responsibilities, and proud of them for measuring up to the glorious traditions of this republic. The United States army is rapidly proving its right to share honors with the defenders of France, England and Italy. No greater compliment could be paid to the American boys than to class them with the heroes who have saved civilization.

Germany's setback on this section of the western front, even if it should not mark a decisive turn of the tide of battle, is profoundly significant. It will be followed by other reverses as surely as ships cross the Atlantic. If this allied onslaught is not the historic turning point of Germany's attack upon the world, the next or the next will be. The summer's campaign as a whole is already outlined as the climax of Germany's supreme and unsuccessful effort and the allies' successful defense. When the ebbing of the German wave begins, its recession will become more and more rapid. It is not at all improbable that the allies will finally gain a mastery which, combined with Germany's political troubles, will begin to roll back the enemy in a panic of disorganization and catastrophe.

The advances made by Germany have been extremely difficult on account of the spirit encountered. The defenders, French or British or Italian, have been fighting for their own homes, their own communities, and their own liberties. When men thus stand at bay they

will fight like demons, whatever their race or nation; and when Frenchmen and Englishmen and Italians are at bay they show the world the most sublime examples of courage and sacrifice. This war's annals are full of marvelous deeds of valor. The civilized nations have found unsuspected reservoirs of the pure waters of heroism. Nothing is commoner in the allied countries than steadfast courage. The nature of young men seems to have been purified and exalted. From them the civilian population is receiving a daily lesson in unselfishness that is transforming those countries. Thus the spirit of liberty ennobles mankind and makes nations rich in honor as well as free of limb and brain.

But the besotted worshipers of brute force, slayers of liberty, have no recourse when disaster comes. There is no inner spirit to buoy them up and make them glad to lay down their lives for others. When their brute god is stricken they know not where to turn. Their hearts liquefy and their knees are loose on their hinges. The cohesion of force and plunder disappears, and every man seeks to save himself. Doubtless when the crack of doom reverberates over the German army the world will be astonished by the suddenness and completeness of its collapse into panic and flight.

All honor to the commanders, captains, and gallant lads who storm the enemy lines! Their names will shine forever, whether they fall like meteors, like Georges Guynemer and Quentin Roosevelt, or unseen save by the eye of God, as many a lad has fallen and slept. The world rejoices in its defenders, those who are at the front and those who are going forward, straining their eyes for the first flash of battle. God bless them all! God grant to each of them a chance to strike the enemy at least one glorious blow!



*Saturday, July 20, 1918*

### The Enemy's Next Move

THE fighting in the Soissons neighborhood grows fiercer as the enemy brings up reserves and the Franco-American force presses forward. No one can foresee the extent of the allied gains or the effect of the thrust upon the enemy. He may check the onrush; he may be driven back to a point where the allies can destroy his communications; he may be compelled to withdraw from the Marne salient and give up all the ground he gained in May; or he may organize a counter attack and push the allies back somewhat, while holding his own in the struggle for Rheims.

It does not matter where the allies pause, so far as territory is concerned. The recapture of villages means little, just as their loss meant little. The question is, are the Germans able to exert their will in France? Up to this week that question could not be positively answered in the negative. Within a few hours it may be that the whole world will see and understand that the question has been answered forever in the negative by the thunderous throats of the allied guns.

This much is sure: Germany, relieved of the burden of fighting Russia, and assembling all its strength on the western front, has attempted five times since March 21 to smash the French or British military establishment, and has failed each time. Three attempts the French and British rebuffed with little or no aid from the Americans. The fourth attempt found Americans present in considerable numbers, and they aided in frustrating the attack. The fifth German onslaught was directed at the French and American forces, and it is the greatest failure of all.

France and England held back the enemy in spite of the collapse of Russia. France, England and America are now pushing the enemy back. Thus the consequences of Russia's collapse have been met and mastered by the allies. Germany's chief hope is gone. If the enemy calculated that the collapse of Russia would more than offset America's aid to the allies, he is now disillusioned. Russia is in process of recovery, while America grows stronger every hour on the battle front.

Germany's check therefore seems to be effectual. If so, it is the immediate precursor of Germany's defeat, which ought to be accomplished within another year if all the allies will intensify their efforts and carry the war forward with all possible vigor.

Germany will know before any one else whether or not the tide has turned. As the armies waver on the crest of the struggle, Germany will surely make peace overtures, and as defeat becomes more certain these overtures will be more and more cunning and persistent. Germany, once convinced that the world cannot be beaten, will make frantic endeavors to save as much as possible from the wreck. Especially will the German military conspiracy endeavor to dissuade the victors from pursuing the disarmament policy to the bitter end. In every allied country a propaganda will appear urging the people to remember that the Germans are human beings, after all; that it is best to let bygones be bygones for the sake of peace. No end of shrewd argument will be employed to persuade the pacific element to intercede in behalf of merciful treatment of Germany. This merciful treatment, when analyzed, will be found to consist of letting Germany off with much of her booty, and with murderous weapons in her hand.

At that time all patriots in the allied countries must stand firm for the sake of humanity. There must never be another war against the world. The only way to prevent it is to make Germany forever incapable of organizing a machine like that which is now to be smashed. It is not for vindictiveness that the world must disarm Germany, nor for cupidity. It is for safety's sake alone. The war will be a failure if it is not fought to a finish and peace clinched by striking the bludgeon from the mailed fist.

From this time forth, according to the measure of allied success, let the allies beware of poisoned peace moves by Germany, supported by propaganda in many countries.

*Wednesday, July 24, 1918*

## Meaning of Germany's Reverse

THE reverse which the German armies have suffered at the hands of the French and American forces is such as to disarrange the plans of the German general staff. If the allied counterstroke should gain no more, it is sufficient to destroy all hopes by the Germans for a victorious offensive this year. Under the cloak of concealment and confusion enough is seen to make it probable that the German army cannot be reorganized and reinvigorated for another great offensive before next year, if at all.

This extreme probability affords basis for the comforting conviction that the tide of war has turned definitely and permanently against Germany. If the enemy cannot win this summer, how can he win next year against an army fortified with an additional 1,000,000 Americans? If 300,000 fighting Americans, added to the allied armies, can throw Germany back from the Marne, what will 1,000,000 fighting Americans do in coöperation with the French and British armies?

The German army is beaten back at one point, and is not defeated by any means. But there is more in this setback than a mere temporary check. The outstanding fact, never to be overlooked, is that the allies possess a growing army, while Germany's army has reached and passed the climax of its strength. If the allied armies were at a standstill, their repulse of the enemy at the Marne might be followed by quick recovery and a successful German advance; but with fresh thousands of troops pouring in from America, this enemy setback means that the allies will hold the ground they have recovered and will probably advance farther.

Moreover, the German retreat has a psychological side which makes it supremely valuable to the allies and correspondingly costly to the German general staff. The people of Germany and Austria are at the breaking point of nerve exhaustion on account of family losses, lack of food, severe restriction of personal liberty, and poverty. These unseen but mighty foes are constantly hammering at the German heart. Against that disintegrating force the chief defense has been hope; hope for victory that would open up vast allied food supplies, immense spoils in territory, materials, slave labor, etc. The German war conspirators, headed by the junkers and the military caste, have dangled before German eyes the glories of a pan-Germany



triumphant over the richest nations, and granting to every German an opportunity to fatten at the expense of neighboring nations.

Now this hope goes glimmering. It is baseless. It passes like a dream. The German lads who were to revel in Paris are ground into mud along the Marne, they are prisoners of the allies, or they are wearily retreating toward the Rhine. There is no allied food for German bellies. There are no riches of allied cities, to recompense Germans for their sacrifices. There is nothing ahead but fighting, against constantly increasing odds. Russia fails to furnish food, Roumania is stripped, Turkey has nothing, Serbia was skimmed clean long ago, Austria is empty, and all around are enemies with death in their hands.

There are 154,000,000 inhabitants of Germany and its allies, and there are 1,200,000,000 inhabitants of the 20 nations that are fighting Germany. Thirty millions of inhabitants of Austria are raising their hands against the Hapsburg empire. The world is full of enemies of the German military machine. Wherever it goes it raises up opposition and enemies, as in Ukrainia and Russia, where the "peace treaties" which were to yield rich food supplies have turned out to be empty scraps of paper.

So the allied victory means much in Germany. It will make itself known, in spite of the desperate efforts of the war class to conceal the truth. Germany may be depended upon to begin peace moves anew, under all sorts of disguises. The danger in allied countries from now on is not that victory will be lacking, but that pacifists will make victory futile by pressing for an inconclusive or soft-hearted peace which would leave Germany armed and capable of recuperating for another assault. That possibility must be extinguished. The allies must fight for and win a victory which in itself will make a German military recovery forever impossible. The only peace to which Germany is entitled is that which is made compulsory. No nation which values its life can take any German assurance or enter into any treaty with Germany while that outlaw is armed.

*Sunday, July 28, 1918*

## The War's Anniversary

**F**OUR years ago today the two murderous heads of the houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg gave the word which they fondly hoped would mean the annihilation of Serbian independence and the extension of the German empire to take in all middle Europe, from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. Franz Josef was in his dotage and completely in the power of William II. Austria-Hungary was, in fact, only a dynasty, an army, and a corrupt system of politics dominated and directed by Berlin. For twenty-five years William had plotted for the day when he might gratify his towering and half-insane egotism and at the same time expand Germany at the expense of neighboring nations. He thought the opportune hour had arrived when the Kiel Canal was completed and the assassination of the Austrian crown prince gave Austria a chance to simulate just and avenging anger.

What an appalling roll of calamities and horrors followed the fatal decision of these crowned assassins! What an inextricable coil of misfortune and disaster surrounds the master conspirator as he moves to his doom!

The war was to end within a few days. A few hurried strokes were to dispatch the principal victim. If Russia should interfere, a few weeks at most were to be sufficient to disable and humble her. The German murder machine was vastly more powerful and efficient than the unsuspecting world could know. All possible contingencies, it was thought, had been foreseen and provided against. If France should not remain neutral under threats, then France was to be attacked and slaughtered. These strokes were to terrorize the world and keep such possible enemies as Great Britain and the United States at a safe distance.

The fifth year of the war begins today, and the German war lord is further from victory than he was on July 28, 1914. He has seen millions of his people slain, starved, maimed, and captured. He has seen his empire's commerce and industry paralyzed, his house and his people abhorred throughout the world, and nation after nation rising in wrath, determined to exterminate the system he personifies.

Serbia was crushed, it is true, but not until Austria had been beaten back by the gallant little nation, which only succumbed when

the Austrians were reinforced by Germans and the blackhearted Bulgars who drove a knife in Serbia's back while they had an oath of friendship upon their lips. But the program of easy nation-slaying miscarried. Russia was not intimidated and not beaten. Paris was not taken in a week or a month or a year. The weeks and months dragged on, and the German emperor gained nothing substantial except new enemies. He became more desperate as horrors accumulated and his empire's fate became more and more involved. Finally he dared to strike fairly and squarely in the face of the United States of America, which was a nation that he knew to be peace-loving and peace-abiding, and absolutely void of offense toward him or his empire. When he forced the United States into the ranks of his enemies he set the seal of extinction upon his military system and invited the annihilation of his empire and dynasty.

The mills of God grind slowly and exceeding small. The tortured world deems it many years since peace reigned, and every day of war is another turn of the screw that racks humanity. But the end is worth the agony, for the end is and must be the extermination of man's oppression of man. When the war ends there will be no Hohenzollern holding millions of human cattle in terror of slaughter. There will be no emperor or king who dares to assert that he holds power by divine right or by any other right except the consent of the people. The nations that have been held in bondage by the corrupt emperors of Austria-Hungary will be set free and aided to establish their own governments. Belgium will be rescued from the paws of the beast that has defiled her beautiful house. Serbians will go back to their home with joy and thanksgiving. Poland will rise from her sorrows and shine once more among the nations.

It is not as a bountiful uncle that the United States has determined to fight till these changes are made certain. It is because these changes must be made if liberty is to abide in the United States or anywhere else in the world. It is for liberty itself, not liberty in places, that America has drawn the sword of destruction.

The years of the war will not be many, if the prospects of the beginning of the fifth year are not misleading. The enemy grows faint with hunger and lack of blood. The allies wax stronger with abundance of food and abundance of men. The enemy war experts have met war experts who outmatch them. Patience for a while, and there will be a peace that no Hohenzollern will ever disturb!



*Tuesday, August 6, 1918*

## The Scales of Brute Strength

**G**LORIOUS deeds have been accomplished by the valor of American lads in man-to-man conflicts with the finest troops in Europe. The progress of the French, British and American troops in their counter offensive is amazing to both friends and enemies. The flower of German soldiery have been hurled back in disorder or dispatched on the spot. Nothing that technical skill, long experience, or unquestioned bravery could bring forth was sufficient to enable the German army to stand against the onslaught of the allied troops.

The world will never forget the achievements of the last three weeks. A second Marne attack, even more threatening than the first, has been changed into a decisive defeat which may have tremendous consequences as its full adverse influence is developed in enemy countries. The Germans have not only been proved to be inferior to an equal number of allied troops, but their defeat sounds throughout their empires, like the trumpet of doom, announcing the approach of the victorious powers.

The measure of Germany's military strength has been taken. It is inferior to the strength that has been amassed by the civilized powers. That is the proved fact of the last three weeks.

But this fact does not permit any one in allied nations to presume upon victory soon, or without tremendous exertions. If mere superiority in brute strength meant victory, Germany could have defeated the allies in 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918. Why has not Germany beaten the allies, when she was stronger? Evidently there is some other factor that is as important as brute strength.

That factor is will power. So long as Germany wills to fight it will require all the strength, all the perseverance, and all the intelligence of all the allies to defeat her. All of Germany's strength, perseverance and intelligence have not achieved victory for her. Now the allies must excel Germany's record.

Misfortune in battle is a wonderful solvent. It disintegrates the will and softens the steel in armies. Sometimes it unlocks the doors of a nation and invites the victor to come in and take the spoils. But misfortune does not always destroy the spirit. Witness France! Witness Serbia, Belgium, Roumania and Italy! We conscientiously be-

lieve that the German people will not exhibit this indomitable spirit in misfortune, for the reason that they are not sustained by the sense of right and justice and inspired by the knowledge that they are fighting for liberty.

There is nothing yet developed, however, to establish this belief as a fact. The Germans have sustained their emperor thus far. The people of Germany unquestionably are substantially a unit in opinion and action. They have been long-suffering, devoted and brave. The qualities that compel admiration have been exhibited by the German people in support of an abominable and hellish cause. Will the Germans now lose heart as their cause fails to make headway? Will their devotion cease when they see their armies fall back upon German soil, fighting a hopeless fight against the world in arms?

The stupendous drama discloses one scene after another, accumulating the events upon which the inevitable catastrophe must be based. From the moment the drama began, the world was stupefied by the magnitude and mystery of the acts. There are no precedents for this war, no standards by which it may be measured, no landmarks which cannot be passed or obliterated, and no certainty that any institution established by man will remain untouched. Unheard-of traits of nations and peoples have been revealed. The most amazing of all was the revelation that the German nation was in fact a materialist nation, relying upon machinery and men trained as machines to stamp the life out of neighboring peoples as effectively and as remorselessly as a chariot wheel destroys an ant village.

Up to this hour the German people have given no indication that they are not absolutely devoted to the religion of force and rapine. They are apparently devout worshipers of their god and seemingly they will not turn away from him. Nevertheless, the civilized world believes that the Germans are obsessed and will recover their senses under the hammer-strokes of defeat and death. If they do not gain wisdom by adversity, if their will is not shaken, then the god of their idolatry must be smashed to bits in the midst of them, by the avenging spirit of liberty.

*Thursday, August 8, 1918*

## The Allies Must Dictate Peace

**B**EFORE the echo of the allies' victorious guns has died away along the Marne there is heard an insistent note, demanding that the allied powers shall not "crush Germany." The demand comes from Germany in the form of propaganda, and from allied countries it issues from that assortment of pacifists, sentimentalists, traitors, defeatists, and nondescript scoundrels who have done so much to cripple the arm of efficiency. Doubtless, as Germany's inevitable defeat becomes more apparent, a propaganda for peace will be conducted on a scale far more extensive and with a cunning far more subtle than anything that has yet come out of Germany. The enemy will strain every nerve to snatch by peace what he is unable to grasp by war.

For this reason, as well as because of the serious conditions in all countries which demand an end of war, it is most welcome news that the United States government intends to increase its available man power to hasten complete victory.

By expanding their will power and their resources and by thoroughly sympathetic teamwork, the allies can save a year of warfare. That is an economy worth striving for. It is good strategy as well as thrift, for no one can foretell what might happen if the war should drag along.

The juncture of events points clearly to the advantages of energetic prosecution of the war against Germany. Time was never more propitious to the allies. If promptly seized, the opportunities now at hand promise to give the allies an overwhelming victory, the only kind that is safe for the world. But there must be no paralysis of effort resulting from disputes as to the kind of victory to be achieved, or from negotiations as to the conditions under which Germany will be so good as to surrender.

The bolsheviki of Russia have been shown to be enemies of the allies. War is developing between the allies and these German agents. This war cannot develop too soon or be too vigorously prosecuted to suit the ends of justice and liberty. The allies need not hesitate to strike the bolsheviki wherever found. Every stroke is for themselves, for Russian liberty and for an everlasting end of German aggressions. As soon as this fight develops the allies will be



aided by patriotic Russians, who in due time will take over entirely the task of defending their country and establishing a stable and free government.

While the allies are shooting defeat into Germany on the western and Russian fronts, they should also be busy tearing to pieces the quadruple alliance upon which German ambitions have been based. This alliance is now a rotten rope which can be broken. The Hapsburg empire is famished and bankrupt, and the morale of its army is low. A strong offensive from Italy, backed by the allies, would do much to hasten the end of the war. The break-up of the Hapsburg empire will be hastened by every setback to German or Austrian arms. The revolutionary elements in Austria are anxiously awaiting the moment when they can rise and begin internal war with some degree of success.

Bulgaria is playing a double game, as usual. Her agents are now making perfidious advances to the allies in Switzerland and elsewhere. If the allies were foolish enough again to take anything Bulgarian as bona fide, and should hold out any inducements to that nation to draw it away from Germany, the tricksters would instantly report the matter to Germany. It is not antagonism to Germany that inspires Bulgaria. It is the instinct of the rat seeking safety. Bulgaria's actions, to those who are familiar with its treacherous policy, are the best of evidence that the quadruple alliance is falling to pieces.

The prime consideration now is energy in the field and firmness in policy. "Unconditional surrender" are the words that should be inscribed on every bullet and bomb that goes to Germany. The world will be defeated if it suspends hostilities to discuss Germany's ideas of a proper peace. There will be no secure freedom of nations if the allies do not impose their will on Germany. They must dictate the terms of peace, and Germany must accept what they dictate. If Germany should be treated with the magnanimity that is due to a chivalrous enemy, the savages in control of that empire would twist the concession into a dagger with which to stab their benefactors.

*Monday, August 12, 1918*

## Unity of Command

THE marvelous success of the allied armies gives abundant material to each nation for satisfaction and pride in the conduct of its officers and men. Each nation can celebrate glorious victories without infringing upon the right of others to celebrate equally great events. It might be contended by each that if its army had not been on hand the allied victories could not have been achieved. But there is one factor of allied success, without any invidiousness in it, which each nation must concede. That is the factor of unity of command.

Each army has done its best, and has earned the gratitude of the world; but all combined have won the victory which they could not have won singly. As the United States is strong because of the union of individual States, so the allies have been strong since they achieved the unity of supreme command. The many forces are now one army. Hence the cogency of the American motto, "E pluribus unum."

For three years the necessity of unity of command was impressed upon the allied governments by expert observers and by events in the field. The contrast between German executive control and allied lack of control was not only painful to observe but costly in practice. Allied lack of unified command lost many an opportunity if not many a battle. German concentration of command enabled the kaiser to swing as one unit the massed forces of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, at any time or place. The German great general staff not only seized every advantage as campaigns developed, but they invariably retrieved their own errors before the allies could pounce upon them. While the allies were trying to agree upon action, Germany acted, and her allies did not presume to interfere before or after action.

It was only after the existence of the British empire was in dire peril, early this year, that Premier Lloyd George was able to overcome British opposition to the appointment of Gen. Foch as supreme commander of the allied armies. This opposition seemed to have its center in the chief of the British imperial general staff, Gen. Robertson, who finally resigned rather than coöperate with the new plan. He was supported by strong and able men, like Gen. Maurice and Col. Repington, who held out to the very last against

French commandership, although these men knew very well that it was absurd to expect England to furnish the skilled staff capable of matching brains with the German general staff. They insisted upon autonomous and separate army commands, with separate general staffs, which of course failed to grasp the allied problems as a whole.

From the moment that Gen. Foch was able to maneuver all the allied forces, without regard to their nationality, there has been assurance of victory. The allied armies, if under one command, might have beaten Germany in 1916, before the German forces in the east had been shifted. At this time, if the allied armies were not under one command, they would not be winning victories, but would probably be conducting defensive operations and losing ground. The German armies would now be bombarding Paris. This does not mean that Marshal Foch is indispensable, but it does mean that unified command is indispensable. The armies are all indispensable, yet the mysterious thing called victory was not with them until they acted as one army, under the orders of one intellect.

The problem of union in political action is far more complex than unity of military command. It is extremely difficult to delegate political decisions to individuals who are dealing with representatives of other nations. The consequences of political decisions are so momentous that the governments must retain their freedom of choice to a great extent. Therefore the best they can hope to accomplish in the way of unity of political action is close and sympathetic exchange of views, and to agree upon fundamental principles which may serve as a common guide in matters of policy.



*Sunday, August 18, 1918*

## Both Peace and Liberty

IT IS now midsummer. Germany has struck with full force at the allies and failed to defeat them. They have recoiled and driven the enemy back. The American forces in France now number 1,450,000 men. The first squadron of eighteen American-made and American-driven war planes has passed over the German armies. American soldiers are going to France at the rate of about 300,000 a month. Allied forces have landed at Vladivostok and the British contingent is already joyfully at work fighting the Germans and Austrians at Ussuri, north of Vladivostok. The Czecho-Slovaks have taken Irkutsk. The British have taken Baku. The bolsheviki are fleeing southward from Archangel. Japanese forces, which will reach any dimensions necessary to execute their task, are soon to move into Siberia and stiffen the Czecho-Slovaks in their struggles with the Germans and Austrians. All is well on the Albanian and Macedonian front, as well as in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Armenia. Italy stands ready to administer another defeat to Austria.

That is the situation from the point of view of the allies. How the two emperors of the enemy empires may view the situation depends upon their information. They may have plans which encourage them to believe that the paths of victory are not all barred. It is probable, however, that Hohenzollern, at least, is not deceived. He is a cold calculator, as mass murderers must be. If he were not an obsessed egotist he would apply his calculations to the actual situation with dangerous accuracy. The world owes its escape, in large measure, to his distortion of facts because of excessive self-love and absurd self-confidence.

Now that an enraged and armed world is administering buffetings to his self-esteem, Hohenzollern is subjected to a severe psychological stress which may develop violent reactions. He may suddenly acquire a clear vision, and with his admittedly able advisers he may adopt measures of remarkable shrewdness in extricating himself from the many pitfalls that are opening around him. Or he may be another example of the truth of the saying that "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," by becoming more of an insane egotist than ever, ending in stark fits of slaughter mania that will sacrifice friend and foe alike and send him into the grave with his own blood on his knife.

Above all the stupendous and cloudy panorama that rolls before the world's eye are Russia and America, mighty landmarks and towers of strength. Neither of these mountains can be budged. They stand at either side of Germany, and in the appointed time they will impose their crushing weight upon her. What of the fact that Russia shows volcanic activity? A volcano is more dangerous to its neighbors than to itself. Probably Hohenzollern would prefer any other nation in the world for an eastern neighbor rather than Russia, now that he perceives that he cannot control it. Russia has been the nightmare of Prussia for centuries, and the reckoning will never be square until Russia has brought Prussia to terms. As the allies send into Russia the alloy that stiffens and hardens the national spirit, Germany knows that the heartbreaking task of rolling the Russians back must be resumed again or some kind of peace arranged which will suffer Russia to have her own. There is no rainbow in the eastern skies for Germany.

To the westward, across the Atlantic, the storm of war grows blacker every day. What shall be thought of the nation that was so slow to wrath and so deaf to the whisper of a peace by purchase? Where is the end of America's preparations? Does America expect to fight forever, that she assembles millions of men, billions of dollars, thousands of ships, tens of thousands of airplanes and endless miles of materials? Then where is the goal for which America is striving—what is it but the death-knell of Hohenzollernism and Hapsburgism? The two emperors see this fact clearly, if they see no other. The irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery is on again, and they are on the wrong side. They must either kill America or go under.

The approaching end casts its shadow upon Hohenzollern and Hapsburg. They may adopt any measures they like—the free world and the world about to become free will not be bound by what these imperial plotters may do. Peace may be postponed for a while by these doomed men if they see fit to bite the dust rather than hand over their swords, but in the end there will be both peace and liberty.

*Thursday, August 22, 1918*

### America's Part

**I**F GERMANY is not beaten with the greatest possible dispatch and the least possible loss of life it will not be due to German cunning but to American blundering. The cards of fate are falling against the enemy; all his moves are beginning to be mistakes; the advantages are shifting over to the side of the allies; the enemy's weapons are becoming blunted and useless, while the allies' weapons are becoming keener and more deadly. If America will but meet these marvelous days with the ancient spirit of America, victory will swiftly come, and liberty will forever stay.

The danger is not in lack of means; it is in lack of understanding of the scope of America's duty. What must be done can easily be done, but it must be done adequately to be done at all. The power of the United States is sufficient to defeat the enemy promptly and decisively. But what is America's power if it is left lying buried in the hills or ungathered and undisciplined in millions of scattered brains and arms?

Millions of men must be selected, trained, armed and sent to destroy the enemy. The equipment for these men must be dug out of the ground and prepared in factories. The duty is here, it is imperative, and the sooner it is performed the easier will be the task. There should not be a day's debate on the bill to extend the draft age limits so as to make all men between 18 and 45 subject to examination with a view to military service. The man power of the United States is the indispensable weapon of victory. Humanity depends upon this weapon for its liberty. The fate of the world will be decided by these men. It is folly to hesitate for a moment in calling them to duty.

The material necessary to equip the great army that is to come must be manufactured by Americans. Their task is as honorable as that of the boys at the front. They are, in fact, comrades of the soldiers, all composing the greater army of the nation. The workers must work as faithfully and heroically as the fighters fight. They are doing so now, from Maine to California. The sum total of energy now applied to war preparation in the United States is one of the marvels of the new age. It will be still greater—it must be greater as the full development of America's war power is reached.



Those Americans who cling to old notions should rub their eyes, dust off their brains and look at the world as it is today and will be tomorrow. The world of 1914 is gone. It is with yesterday's seven thousand years. It will never come back. The United States is not the same nation that it was when it went to war. The spirit of its manhood is different. The women have different ideas and ideals. The children have caught a different spirit. It is the new spirit that will not go back to the old falsehoods, the old trivialities and the old wrongs. From China to Norway, and from the South Seas to Archangel, the old idols are broken and the shackles are falling away.

Mankind is becoming free. The nations already free cannot exist without freeing the others. The mandate of the Almighty has gone forth, and man's spirit hears it in the thunder of artillery and sees it in the iron eagles that sweep over the battlefields. The proudest and most glorious part to be played by any nation in the world's history is that assigned to the United States, by reason of its freedom and strength. The fatal blow will be administered by this nation. The enemy will fall before the Stars and Stripes. The heart of evil will be pierced by the sword which Liberty has always borne for the protection of the United States.

It is a solemn, splendid, glorious duty that lies before the United States. Let it be performed with speed! Let the avenging stroke be delivered with lightning swiftness and overwhelming force! Let every American ignite his soul at the altar fires of liberty, and pray that his vision may be enlarged to see the majesty of his nation's cause!

*Friday, August 23, 1918*

## Enemy Peace Overtures

THE prediction that the German government would begin a peace offensive following the setback to German arms is verified by the outgivings of Dr. Solf, German secretary of state for the colonies. Dr. Solf tries to take the place of Dernburg, Kuehlmann and others who thought they could mislead the public opinion of allied countries by sophistries.

The usual falsehoods are uttered by Dr. Solf concerning Germany's rôle in Russia. He tries to make it appear that Germany generously undertakes to look after the border peoples while they are in the twilight zone between the darkness of Russian ignorance and splendor of German kultur. The inference he tries to convey is that Germany will turn these people loose when they are sufficiently enlightened. He carefully refrains from making any promises—not that his promises are worth anything more than the notorious promises of the German government—but evidently because he is anxious to avoid embarrassment later, when his promises might come home to roost.

The most important part of Dr. Solf's remarks is that which attempts to incite the "independent" and "international" labor element of Europe to demand peace by negotiation. Recently the deluded socialists of England again demanded an international conference, and apparently the German leaders think they see an opportunity to divide allied opinion on this subject.

The gist of Dr. Solf's argument is that the time must come when peoples will be so sick of war that they will turn away from all war doctrines and try to find a basis for restoration of confidence; that confidence will germinate and result in a demand for peace, in spite of the vindictive policy of governments. The German propagandist then suggests that Mr. Balfour, Britain's foreign secretary, fears such a reaction toward peace, and therefore attacks not merely the German government, but the German people. Thereupon, Dr. Solf winds up his argument by saying, "Our enemies do not want peace by negotiation."

In that remark he is right, although the manner in which he states it would make it appear that the allies were deaf to the call of the world for honorable peace and were bent upon the destruction of Germany through sheer blood lust. It is perfectly true that the allies

do not want peace by negotiation. The reason for this is that there is no honorable opponent with whom to negotiate. A peace treaty with a rattlesnake would not be worth while, and peace by negotiation with armed Germany is just as dangerous and just as foolish.

This fact is so patent, and has been made so terribly clear by the shed blood of tens of thousands of allied victims, military and civil, that no one in the world should be misled by German peace propaganda urging "peace by negotiation." Yet there are in all the allied countries elements which persist in the hallucination that somehow they may be able to patch up a lasting peace by negotiating with Germany. These elements are largely socialistic, and usually they are colored with bolshevism—that is, a half-baked "internationalism" which pretends that there is a world community of spirits too high and too fine to be bound down by the usual obligations of nationality. Nikolai Lenine, the Russian traitor, is the ideal internationalist, and his attempt to put internationalism into effect gave Germany an easy victory over Russia. Now the Germans would like nothing better than to see bolshevism spread through all allied countries, so that frenzied Lenines would rise up everywhere and demand "peace by negotiation."

Fortunately fools and traitors are in the minority. Germany made many foolish men wise when she grasped Russia by the throat at Brest-Litovsk. In the hour of victory over Russia Germany disclosed the frantic lust for booty and power which drove her into this war. The itching palm could barely refrain from clutching Russia's wealth before the fraudulent treaty was signed. When that infamous document was finally signed, Germany proceeded to violate every article of it with a rapacity and cynicism that amazed the world. It is not too much to say that the renewed vigor and determination of every allied nation dated from the hour when Germany proved that the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was a mockery.

The wise course for individual Americans to pursue is to strike down every man who talks bolshevism and "peace by negotiation." Such men are either incurable meddlers or German knaves. They are pernicious busybodies, and they retard the victory that America is giving its blood to gain. They would make the heroism of American boys vain and frivolous. They would make every grave in France a gloating place for Germany. They are enemies of liberty, dastardly traitors to the flag, and richly deserve any punishment that the outraged republic metes out to them. If their numbers should grow and their activity become more dangerous, there will unquestionably be a demand that the penalty of death be imposed upon them.



*Tuesday, August 27, 1918*

## No Peace Without Victory

ON THE field of battle the allied armies have taken Germany's measure and have thrust back the finest troops of the outlaw empire. There is no longer any question of the ability of the allies to hold the enemy armies. There is no possibility now of Germany compelling the allies by force to accept her peace terms. So far as the enemy is concerned, the hope of a decision on the field of battle is dispelled.

Having reached this point, it is now incumbent upon the allied armies to compel Germany to sue for peace at the point of the sword.

That cannot be accomplished for many months. The allied armies must be much stronger than they are at present before a military decision can be looked for. Dr. Kuehlmann, former foreign minister of the German empire, perceived this spring that Germany could not hope to force peace by a military decision. He said as much, and urged his associates to work out a scheme of peace by negotiation, provided always that Germany's eastern gains should not be yielded. This speech was approved by the kaiser before it was delivered. When the pan-Germans understood its purport they demanded Kuehlmann's retirement, and got it. They thought they saw Paris about to fall into the maw of the German power, and they regarded the suggestion of negotiated peace as something next door to treason.

Now there is a different hue over the situation in Germany and outside. The pan-Germans are still as rapacious as ever, but even swine know when they are driven from the trough. The German expansionists are beginning to see that what they have gained in the east will be lost in the west unless they agree to a compromise peace. Hence all parties in Germany are preparing to get together in a vigorous campaign for peace with loot.

The allies have met the enemy in battle and hurled him back. Are they sure they are equally strong in the field of politics? Have they any political or diplomatic triumphs over Germany equal to the splendid military triumphs of the last six weeks? Is it not true that in the last great political offensive of Germany, namely, the debauching of Russia and the signing of the infamous treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the allies were completely outclassed? Can any one point

to an effective stroke by the allies in behalf of Russia during all that period?

The allies have diplomatic intelligence, and terribly costly experience has taught them not to shrink from the word "intrigue" when dealing with the stealthy assassin of nations. There is no good reason why the allies should concentrate all their intellect upon the military situation and permit Germany to make inroads and possibly win a victory in the political field. What will the military sacrifices amount to if the enemy succeeds in inducing public sentiment in allied countries to demand peace on what will appear to be liberal terms from Germany?

It is false peace, not war, that the allies should fear. The war can go on as it has gone these last weeks, and every life lost will be a foundation-stone in the temple of liberty that is to stand eternal. But let the war come to an end this side of victory, and every life lost will have been a ghastly sacrifice to the derisive gods, Force and Fraud, which Germans worship. More lives will have to be sacrificed later on, to extricate the world from the intolerable fetters of a peace of slavery. It is now or never with free men and men who would be free. They can attain their freedom and establish it now, once and for all, if they will have no dealings with the enemy except battle.

There can be no peace tainted with German "concessions." The world does not want German war or German peace, or anything else made in Germany. All that the world wants of Germany now is unconditional surrender. Germany made the war, but she cannot make peace. The allies will block out and put in force their own peace.

*Saturday, August 31, 1918*

## War Winners Must Be Peace Makers

EVER since the German government deliberately trampled upon the rights of all nations, whether enemies or neutrals, right-minded Americans have been in favor of war against Germany to the point of its unconditional surrender. This appears to them to be the only method by which a nation making itself an outlaw and resorting to foul play in war can be brought within the grasp of civilization and be disarmed and punished for its crimes.

The United States finally entered the war with a pledge that it would employ all the resources of the nation to secure a successful termination of the struggle. It immediately assisted the allied nations and has coöperated with them in every way, so that its association with them now constitutes a tie much more binding than any form of words.

The United States went to war without waiting for other neutrals to do so. President Wilson suggested to the neutral nations that all of them might properly join the forces of civilization which were called upon to subdue Germany. Some of the neutrals in the Western Hemisphere accepted this view of the universality of Germany's assault upon the rights of nations. Other governments shut their eyes to the attack upon their sovereignty and their rights, and have remained neutral or pro-German.

Providence has ordained that the outlaw shall be overcome. The allied nations, supported by the United States, are now strong enough to force Germany back. Soon the combined allies with an American army of at least 4,000,000 men will be in a position to annihilate the German military power, and to command the emperor to hand over his sword in unconditional surrender on pain of the destruction of the empire. The allies will do this, and the emperor, whoever he may be at that time, will hand over the sword of dishonor.

Thereupon the allied nations, as the trustees and guardians of civilization and liberty, will proceed to shape a lasting and equitable peace binding upon the late enemy and upon themselves and all other nations.

Neutral nations will ask to share in the conference on the ground that their fortunes are affected.

They will not be admitted to the conference room.



If any nation wishes to share in the trusteeship and guardianship of civilization, let it share now, when there is blood to be shed. Let it share in the hardships and dangers of war. Then it will be entitled to share in the judgments of peace.

The nations at war against Germany are showing their fitness to be trustees of civilization and liberty by giving their blood and treasure and existence, if necessary, to secure the defeat of Germany as a preliminary to a safe and equitable peace. These nations can be trusted to be as honorable and unselfish in adjusting international rights as they are in fighting for them. No neutral government can justly question the good faith of nations that are bleeding in behalf of liberty. No neutral government hereafter can honorably demand a place at the peace table on the plea that it questions the good faith of the nations that had fought against Germany.

When the sublime hour arrives for the gathering of the triumphant nations to establish the just peace of the world, let no government that remained neutral during the war presume to intrude. The war winners must be the peace makers. No one can now be trusted to win liberty except those who fight for it. No one can then be trusted to establish just peace except those who have fought for it. A neutral nation now is a neuter, a sexless organism, a dark planet, a thing neither fish, flesh, nor fowl. It is 50 per cent for the enemy and 50 per cent for liberty. It is living only for itself. It is selfish now, and it would be selfish in the peace conference. It might be an accomplice of Germany, or a ravenous and obscene bird seeking to devour Germany. Indeed, it is quite probable that the allied nations will be in the position of defending their prostrate enemy against the rapacity of nations that are now too selfish or too cowardly to fight.

The allies will not do injustice to neutrals in establishing peace. But the allies are now responsible for the security and liberty of the world, and they will not permit any interference with the conscientious and complete execution of their trust.

*Sunday, September 1, 1918*

### Germany's Last Card

THERE can be no doubt that Germany is preparing to make as determined and skillful a campaign to constrain the allies to come to peace as she has made to conquer them in war.

The campaign is assuming form, although all except the general outline is shadowy. Apparently Dr. Solf, minister for the colonies, is to be one of the prime movers, and it is even reported that he is about to be elevated to the chancellorship in place of Count von Hertling, who is full of years and unfitted now to assume the invitational and conciliatory attitude which the new policy calls for.

Dr. Solf recently made a bold speech, far too bold to be delivered by a minister without permission of the emperor and chancellor. It was a direct bid for peace by negotiation. He threw out a few insults, for the delectation of the groundlings, but the tenor of his address was clearly preliminary to the peace campaign that is coming.

In some respects Dr. Solf would be good material for the work in hand. He is ingenious, unscrupulous, polished, ingratiating to some degree, and thoroughly informed of the matters that must be handled. If the German government is to take the defensive in the field and assume the offensive in peace intrigue, Dr. Solf is well adapted to play the role of Machiavelli.

Germany's peace moves arise, of course, from her necessity. Defeat is coming. The brains that have organized and wielded with skill the mightiest military force in history are not suddenly dull. They foresee the end so far as brute force is concerned. The end was exhibited to them in letters of blazing light when they struck at France on March 21 and failed to break through. From that moment it need not be doubted that the military leaders of Germany, which is to say the power behind the throne, have sought a way to escape from the defeat that is made certain by Germany's waning and America's waxing strength.

Several methods have been considered by the German leaders, and some of them have been tried. One was to smash Italy. It miserably failed. Another was to stir up strife among the allies, particularly between Japan and the Western allies. This maneuver not only failed, but it hastened the understanding between the United States and Japan which is now working for the salvation of Russia.

The chief maneuver of all is now to be tried—a carefully designed and vigorously conducted peace intrigue, of vast scope, having for its object the extrication of the German armies from defeat and the annexation of great territories to Germany with consent of the allies. Broadly speaking, Germany aims to secure these ends in exchange for her agreement to quit the fight.

The keen intellects in Germany will bear watching in this peace intrigue. The German government will make startling "concessions," which will appeal to the unthinking and the unwary. Among the offers doubtless will be the restitution of Belgium to its government; a plan to let the people of Alsace-Lorraine determine for themselves whether they shall be joined to France or Germany; all sorts of guarantees to the allies concerning submarine warfare, such as abolition of the war zone, respect for neutral flags, the safe removal of human beings before sinking enemy merchant vessels and safety lanes in which Germany will guarantee that no submarine shall ever appear. These baits will be cunningly prepared and persistently offered, and they will be supported by artificial public opinion organized by German propagandists in the several allied countries.

The German emperor will give up anything to save his life and crown. He will give up almost anything to hold the territory he has seized. He will give up much to save his army before it has been driven back to the point where surrender will be forced. One offer after another, each more tempting than the last, will be made to the allies. Much will depend upon the state of opinion in the allied countries and the effect of this opinion upon the allies' political policy. Advantage will be taken of every difference of opinion among the allied governments. The peace propaganda may force wedges into the armor that now makes the allies one great steel-clad driving force. If so, these wedges will be quickly driven in by the desperate plotters of Potsdam.

Germany must be saved from abject surrender. Fighting has failed. Look out for peace intrigue.



*Wednesday, September 4, 1918*

## The Rise of New Nations

THE thunder of victorious guns and the sound of the onrush of allied armies through the enemy lines are glorious music to the world. The explosions cannot be too loud, the shouts of the victors cannot be too widely spread along the front that is moving eastward. Civilization rejoices in these evidences of allied power and hails the moment when the last enemy soldiers shall cross the border or fall before the pursuers.

But there is another event which means even more now and hereafter than the current military advance. That is the recognition of the Czecho-Slovak government by the United States, as a co-belligerent against the German and Austro-Hungarian empires.

The allied armies may be checked, or (God prevent it) they may be pushed back somewhat, as the fortunes of war may determine. But the recognition of the new nation will not be set aside. It is now a historic and settled fact, one of the fundamental facts of the war which will dictate the nature of victory and the nature of peace.

The United States has taken the hand of the new Czecho-Slovak nation, as a nation that is and should be free and independent of Austria-Hungary. Italy, France and Great Britain had already recognized the *de facto* government. Yesterday's act of the United States means that the war will shatter the Hapsburg empire and knock over the Hapsburg throne. Peace will not come with the Czecho-Slovaks of Bohemia and Moravia remaining in bondage to the mediæval and corrupt Hapsburg dynasty. The Poles of Austria-Hungary will have a land and a flag of their own before this war is over. The Italians under Austrian bondage, weeping like those daughters of Jerusalem by the waters of Babylon, will be joined to their own country again. The Jugoslavs, Croats and Serbs of southern Austria are emerging as an independent nation, and will strike off the Austrian yoke during this war. Finally, the Roumanians of Transylvania will be annexed to the land and flag of their forefathers, in the course of the dismemberment of the Hapsburg empire.

Even the Magyars are oppressed by the insufferable Teutons and their junker accomplices among the Magyar nobility. It is quite probable that when the nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian empire rise in response to the universal cry for liberty they will find liberty-loving Magyars shoulder to shoulder with them.

It is a majestic sight when a nation like the United States stoops down and places its shield of stars and stripes between a struggling people and their merciless oppressors. That shield typifies the service which Americans are now privileged to perform as partial recognition of the blessings that have been poured upon this nation. Liberty is like truth and light in its quality of universality. It cannot bear discrimination. Its widely separated elements coalesce in spite of war, time or distance. Men who are white, black, yellow, brown and red are equally entitled to liberty and are equally keen in apprehending its presence or absence. The liberty of the United States, without which Americans cannot breathe, is the liberty which the Czecho-Slovaks are fighting for.

The enemy, now writhing under fire in France, is just as universally the enemy of liberty as it is the enemy of truth. It strikes at all nations that are free or trying to become free. Its triumph means the death of all liberty, not merely the death of liberty in small, feeble nations. The smashing of this enemy means the safety of liberty everywhere, not merely in the United States.

Free men are brothers in this war, wherever they may be. They are brothers of all men who are striving to be free. The allied nations are the means whereby the spirit of liberty may work its will against its last and greatest enemy. Governments may come and go, but freedom must not budge while humanity exists.

Hail to the new nation whose sons are gallantly fighting in France, Russia and Italy! May Bohemia shine with more than its ancient glory, and may Americans teach their children that it was in this day, in this age, that America gladly gave of her strength to make other peoples free!

*Sunday, September 8, 1918*

## The March of Victory

THE enemy is virtually back on the line which he held in 1917. The only net result of his adventure of last spring is 450,000 dead and captured Germans and 700,000 Germans put out of action. Marshal Foch is pursuing him with implacable energy. There is nothing in the situation to suggest that the German high command will be able to halt at the Wotan or any other line. The allied forces are stronger than the enemy's, and have the advantage of better equipment and superior methods of attack. Their tanks run over the enemy defenses and exterminate machine gun nests with ease and dispatch. The enemy is becoming more depressed daily, as he sees his defenses crumbling and his reserves melting away.

There are hints that the full strength of the Americans is not yet employed; that the American soldiers may strike soon in a new quarter, to the increased embarrassment of the enemy.

The French and British armies are accomplishing marvelous things. They have taken on new life. They have recovered most valuable terrain, but better than that, they have revived their own spirit of victory, which was benumbed by the terrific onslaughts and steady advances of the enemy in March, April, May, June and July. That the French and British armies withstood these tremendous attacks and fought to the end, against overwhelming odds, speaks volumes for their undying tenacity and glorious courage. They have richly earned victory, having faced defeat without despair. Now that the fortunes of war smile upon them, they are still modest, still patient, still devoted solely to their cause. It is an honor to the American army that it can associate with such splendidly heroic men.

The rapidly increasing American force may enable Marshal Foch to carry the war into Germany without regard to winter. We earnestly hope so. If the enemy should gain a respite during the winter he will be harder to kill next spring. If possible, the allied offensive should go forward without cessation, bearing down the enemy at every point and giving him no rest, night or day. At the rate the allied armies are moving forward they will have France and Belgium swept clean before many months have passed. Then the goal will be in sight. The Rhine must be crossed in force by the gallant armies of France, England and America.



If the enemy should be so foolish as to resist, it will then be the duty of the allied armies to lay waste the country as they advance—and may they do their duty thoroughly! The German territory ought to feel the scourge of flame and be turned over by the plowshare of war. The allies should spare civilian life in all cases, but they should not leave one stone upon another as they march upon Berlin. If Cologne and Bonn and Coblenz and Frankfurt must be razed to the ground before the enemy will surrender, then let them be razed and burned, so that no man may ever know them again. The Germans cannot learn their lesson until it has been bombed into their heads and burned into their flesh. They must learn it, for the sake of the world's safety; therefore let the bombing and the burning go forward as speedily and as thoroughly as possible.

One of the reports from the front states that the Americans "hunted the Germans down like wild beasts." That is a most satisfactory report. The Germans are wild beasts in this war. They should be treated as such. The more rapidly they are exterminated the sooner the world can lift up its head and recover its spirits. Since the war as made by Germany has been reduced to the alternative of a dead civilization or a dead German military system, let the issue be decided without delay.

*Friday, September 13, 1918*

### America Strikes

ANOTHER stunning blow has been struck at the quaking German line in France, this time by American and French troops in the Woevre section. On both sides of the St. Mihiel salient the Americans made an assault along a total frontage of twenty miles, while the French troops attacked the tip of the salient and reached the outskirts of St. Mihiel itself. The Americans took several towns and made good their progress on both sides, their greatest penetration on the first day being five miles. At last accounts the fight was progressing favorably for the allies.

The stronghold of Metz is not far from the point of battle contact, and it is surmised in some quarters that Gen. Pershing is making Metz his objective. It is far more probable that he is aiming to restore to France the invaluable coal and iron basin of Briey. This rich mineral field is one of the regions most coveted by Germany. It has been made to turn its product against French breasts, and has contributed generously to the scanty store of Germany's raw materials. For sentimental and practical reasons it seems probable that the offensive now under way has for its object the wresting of this region from the Germans. Metz would yield the French no special advantage, but the basin of Briey, restored, would instantly increase the French resources of coal and iron and correspondingly diminish Germany's supply.

Coincident with the first American major offensive comes the German emperor's whining plea to the munition workers of Essen to keep at their task, starve themselves indefinitely, cease their murmurs and bear in mind that Germany is beset with a world of enemies who are determined to annihilate her. The emperor's repeated request that the common people should stifle their dissatisfaction, and his labored attempt to satisfy them that they can obtain relief only by further sacrifice, indicate that the murmurs are taking on a menacing tone which disturbs and alarms the throne. The Germans are the dumbest of the driven cattle of mankind, but even such cattle may be driven too hard and too far. The kaiser used all his arts of falsehood and hypocrisy, which are admittedly great, for the purpose of convincing his people that they must keep on working, starving, fighting and dying for him and his cause.

The grim assault by the Americans, within sight of German soil and almost within sound of Essen, may have a counter effect upon the sorely tried bodies and minds of the German people. Here is a new enemy, of illimitable potential strength, appearing at the very border of the empire and avowedly striking down the system that curses Germany and the world alike. The Americans are not seeking to gain ownership by conquest of German soil, and the German people, unless they are cattle in literal truth, know that America is not making a war of conquest. If, under the double stress of privation within and defeat without, there should be no ray of the truth penetrating into German brains, if they should cling to their heathen idols of force and fraud in spite of the call to freedom, then they deserve to die at the feet of their blood-stained gods, and to have these false gods, smashed to dust, constitute the burial mound of the German race.

Emperor William is right in one of his remarks, which is to the effect that peace is not coming until one side or the other is disabled. He cannot conceal from himself the inexorable end which was foreordained when he falsified his trust, defied God and man, and deliberately attempted to substitute force for right in this world. The world will not have it. Humanity was overreached at first by the suddenness and audacity and unbelievable criminality of the assault. But humanity has gathered strength as it has gathered wrath, and with wrath it has determined that there shall be no end except universal liberty and the extinction of the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg system of force and oppression.

Now Hohenzollern hears the thunder of the guns of the New World, rocking the very foundation of his throne. He sees the marshaling of 13,000,000 Americans to reinforce the millions already organized to dispatch him. He sees France reinvigorated and implacable. He sees the British empire roused as a lioness robbed of her young. He sees the Russian people throwing off the effects of the drugs with which he and his infernal agents poisoned them. On every side he sees armed nations rising to bring him to death.

It is decreed and written. Mankind will not quit until the blood of the world's murderers has been spilled on the ground. Hohenzollern may squeak and gibber as he pleases, he can equivocate with God and man, but he cannot shut from his ears the growing roar of the guns that tell him of the end.



*Saturday, September 14, 1918*

## The Crisis in Russia

THE wiping out of the St. Mihiel salient in two days, with the capture of over 12,000 prisoners and the shifting of the fighting zone to the border of German territory, is sufficient warrant for American jubilation. The United States army by its work this week has proved itself worthy of taking rank alongside the glorious armies of France, England and Italy. These four comrades-in-arms, now hardened in battle, will attend to the task of thrusting the enemy out of France, Belgium and Italy. There need be no further apprehension regarding the tendency of warfare on the western front.

Russia remains the unsolved problem. The allies have not yet reached the point where they can see the certain end, as they can see it in the west. Germany still counts upon the mutilation and exploitation of Russia. Herr von Payer, German vice chancellor, whose speech at Stuttgart is just at hand, cannot bring himself to contemplate the withdrawal of Germany from Russia. He says in effect that while Germany will give back all western territory after the allies have restored the German colonies and signed a peace treaty, Germany will not consent to any revision or alteration of the treaties with Russia, Ukrainia and Roumania. What Germany has stolen in the East she intends to keep, peace or no peace.

The world apparently is about to see the curtain rise upon a vast and gloomy pageant in Russia. The land is masterless, defenseless and subject to the throes of famine, bloodshed and pestilence. Wild creatures bereft of reason are beginning to rise and kill those who possess either education or property. A ferocity like that of jungle tigers has seized upon elements of the population, who think they see in other elements their deadly enemies. The capitals of Russia, long renowned for their accumulations of art and their atmosphere of urbanity and culture, are now lurid with incendiary fires, mad with orgies of blood and resounding with the pandemonium of anarchy and famine. The Russian millions are falling into the vortex of universal lawlessness. Soon, unless civilization can intercede, there will be a condition in which each human being will roam about with a knife, killing his fellow creatures for food, burning houses for warmth and falling at last a victim of starvation or pest.

The aid now being furnished to Russia by the allies is feeble and utterly inadequate. It must be increased and diversified forthwith

if an appalling catastrophe is to be even in part averted. Russia needs almost every kind of aid that civilization can furnish. The allies are giving Russia a military shield to protect her against the German ghouls who would rob her emaciated and diseased body. But the allies must do more than that. They must see that Russia receives food and medicine, clothing and shelter, support and protection against the wolves of humanity. There are individuals in allied countries who are now preparing to prey upon Russia's weakness and misfortune. These robbers must be kept out of Russia. There are Russians who are waiting to rob their countrymen. They must be exterminated.

From all that appears on the surface, Japan is far ahead of the other allies in preparations for befriending Russia in an effective and adequate manner. Japan appreciates the magnitude of the task as no other nation seems to appreciate it. Aside from military assistance on a scale that means success, Japan has sent forward an economic commission with authority to work out plans for aiding the Russians to obtain food and other necessities while they are getting upon their own feet. Japan is taking such steps as will protect the Russians against profiteers and brigands. In the meantime the Russian and Japanese soldiers are fraternizing, which is the best possible refutation of the allegation that the allies are trying to exploit Russia.

The United States could be of immense benefit to Russia by giving economic assistance. This government should not stop with the sending of troops to fight the Germans and the bolsheviki. There should be an amplification of plans to a point commensurate with the great task. No effort is too arduous or too costly for America to undertake in befriending Russia at this critical hour. The only mistake that can possibly be made is to underestimate the urgency and magnitude of the help required.

*Monday, September 16, 1918*

## Who Will Dare to Make Peace?

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, the catspaw of Germany in starting this war, is the catspaw of Germany in trying to end it, now that Germany realizes that defeat is inevitable.

For many months after Germany had severed all connections with civilization, Austria-Hungary contrived to maintain a hypocritical pretense of respectability which deceived the allies to some extent. Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson apparently had some confidence in Austria's good faith, for they both stated that the dismemberment of Austria was outside the scope of the aims of those nations at war against Germany. Later, both the British and United States governments had reason to regret that they had entertained the idea of treating Austria as a friend.

The Hapsburg government has been corrupt for centuries, but it has not been a servile tool of Germany until comparatively recently. Bismarck humbled the Hapsburgs, and William II has treated them as the hirelings they are. The two bolshevik traitors, Lenine and Trotzky, vile as they are, can at least claim company with Emperor Carl of Austria, who has sold his honor and his nation to the same syndicate that purchased Lenine and Trotzky.

A peace overture from Austria-Hungary is a peace overture from the savage murderers of Belgium and France. It is an invitation to civilization to clasp the foul and blood-stained hand that betrayed and assassinated Serbia, Roumania and Russia, set fire to America's factories and bridges, torpedoed the Lusitania, strewed bombs upon women and children in London and Paris, and with fiendish malice destroyed farms, orchards, villages, and roads in France.

What a treat for the fiends, what laughter there would be in the confines of hell, if civilization should be deceived into taking the hand of its assassin!

The world will not be deceived. There will be no peace by negotiation with assassins.

Germany, possessing force and inspired by greed, deliberately started this war. It has not gone to suit Germany. Civilization, almost overwhelmed, has rallied and is now about to shake off and slay its assailant. And the murderer asks for a parley!



Germany started this war. Civilization will finish it. No one seemed to see clearly in 1914 that the war could not end until mankind was liberated from all systems which deny the principle of government with consent of the governed. Mankind itself did not know that it was to be shocked and bayoneted into universal alarm and wrath, to culminate in a universal uprising for liberty. Many minds are still dark. They fail to understand that this is a war for universal liberty, and not a misunderstanding that can be patched up by a few diplomats appointed by Germany and the allies.

The objective of mankind is liberty, not peace. It is annihilation of the systems that control men's liberties, not the annihilation of the German people or the expansion of allied territory. It is not a territorial or material war. It is purely a struggle of spirit, trying to attain its object by using the hammer of force. Battles are not fought for themselves, but for an object that is in the realm of the spirit. Men fight, not because they are dragged by chains into battle, but because they are inspired with a desire, something not pertaining to the senses, not a part of their material equipment.

The spirit that animates the allied millions, which commands them to go into battle and conquer, is the spirit of liberty. That spirit is now aflame throughout the world, and in outraged majesty is driving its sword straight toward the heart of its assailant. Who will attempt to stay Liberty's hand? Who is the statesman or ruler who will dare to stay the execution of the assassin? Who is the man who will try to interfere with God's will as voiced by His people?

*Thursday, September 19, 1918*

### The Finish Fight

THE word "peace" undoubtedly exercises a hypnotic fascination over some minds. Austria-Hungary's proposal for a secret conference to discuss ways of arriving at peace actually misled a minority of individuals in the allied countries, and in one conspicuous instance it led a great newspaper into a false and humiliating position. The mistake was due to confusion of thought as to the true meaning of the fighting and the essential difference between this war and a war between two nations.

Those who were misled by Austria's proposal thought only of the appalling sacrifices of this war and took it for granted that exchanges of views would afford a basis for making mutual concessions or accommodations which would result in peace. They looked at this war as a quarrel. They looked upon peace as the great objective.

The sacrifice of blood and property in fighting this war is incalculably great; but that is a subordinate fact, practically negligible as compared with the importance of the issue at stake.

Exchanges of views would not afford any basis for concessions or accommodations, because the nations acting for civilization in this crisis are not making any concessions or accommodations. They cannot make any with safety to humanity.

This war is not a quarrel among nations over rights or territory that can be adjusted by mutual conference. It is an uprising of humanity in the fixed determination to break the fetters of oppression by subduing, disarming, and if need be by annihilating the organized power that attacked the free nations with the intention of making it impossible for men to exist on this planet and govern their own governments.

While that organized power exists there will be war. When that organized power has been destroyed there will be peace.

The power that attacked mankind did not intend to have the war take this turn. It began the war merely to enlarge and consolidate the German empire and incidentally to take over some of the property belonging to other nations. But the war having taken this turn, it is not possible for the power that started the war to stop it, except by surrender or suicide. No mandate of this power, no exer-

cise of brute force by it, and no proposal to discuss the subject will have any effect whatever upon the will and action of civilization, acting through its agents, the allied nations.

The brute force of civilization is now greater than the brute force that attacks it. Each brute force is organized into a complicated, effective machine for dealing death in the mass and for destroying property in the aggregate. Neither machine thinks or moves of its own initiative. Each is controlled by an intelligence, and this intelligence acts in obedience to a fixed rule. In one case the rule is complete denial of the right of peoples to govern themselves, with the inevitable corollary that they must be governed by the power in control of the machine, with annihilation as the penalty for opposition. In the other case the rule is unqualifiedly assertion of the right of peoples to govern themselves, without interference or constraint by any earthly power, with the inevitable corollary that any organized power attempting to destroy this right shall be annihilated.

And now they are at it, tooth and nail; and thank God, it is a fight to the finish!

Who, knowing the nature of the issue, doubts the outcome? Peace before the complete settlement of this conflict by the death of one or the other of these powers would be a calamity to humanity. What sum of blood and treasure can compare with the sum total of liberty? What is peace, with liberty left out?



*Saturday, September 28, 1918*

## Bulgaria's Peace Appeal

**B**ULGARIA, corrupt, treacherous and on the verge of revolution, asks Gen. Franchet d'Esperey for an armistice as a preliminary to peace overtures. Gen. d'Esperey refuses to suspend military operations, but signifies his willingness to receive Bulgarian delegates. In the meantime, Greek, British, French and Serbian troops are closing in on Bulgaria. The kingdom is bankrupt, the people are in starvation and revolt, the Turks are threatening them on one side and the Germans are bleeding them on the other, while the allies are about to destroy the army and occupy the country.

Well may Bulgaria sue for peace! But can she make peace any more successfully than she can make war? In control of every division of the Bulgar army is a German. A German field marshal directs the Bulgar strategy. Germany controls the railroads and the financial system, the transportation and supply systems, and the liaisons with the other enemy armies. King Ferdinand may propose peace, but Germany is more than likely to dispose of him. He has appealed in vain to Field Marshal Mackensen for help, but Mackensen has his hands full in Roumania, where the people under plucky Queen Marie's inspiration are refusing to be bound to the German chariot. Ferdinand's flight from Sofia would not be a surprising incident just now. He is a wise bird as well as a foul one, and can smell trouble from afar.

The United States cannot take part in the smash-up of Bulgaria, much as Americans would enjoy doing so. The American government has not seen fit to regard Bulgaria as an enemy. But fortunately the other allies have taken Bulgaria's measure and will not permit her to wriggle out of their grasp by any true or false peace proposals. If Bulgaria is actually in extremis and must get peace at any price, the allies will give her peace at their price. If she is attempting treachery, the attempt will be in vain, for the allies' forces will continue their advance on Sofia.

Unconditional surrender is the only possible method by which Bulgaria or any other of the enemy nations can obtain even a breathing space in which to hand over the sword. In Bulgaria's case it goes without saying that the allies will not make any peace which does not take into full account the rights of Serbia and Greece. These

nations, which were betrayed by Bulgaria at the beginning of this war, will demand the restitution of invaded territory as a sine qua non of peace negotiations; then reparation and guarantees. That part of Macedonia which is Serbia's must be restored to Serbia; and that part of Greece which was villainously delivered over to Bulgaria by the traitor Constantine must be handed back. The Greek soldiers whom he caused to be betrayed into German hands must be returned safely to their own country. In a word, the devilry perpetrated by Bulgaria under German inspiration must be wiped out before Bulgaria can expect to ward off the avenging sword. If Bulgaria is still so tightly in the German grip that she cannot comply with these conditions, then the sword must do its work.

If the allies should consult the United States concerning the Bulgarian proposal, as they are likely to do notwithstanding America's nonparticipation in war against Bulgaria and Turkey, the advice from this government undoubtedly will be strongly against any armistice except upon the unconditional surrender of Bulgaria. The allies are now in consultation upon the matter, and it is reassuring to know that M. Pachitch, premier of Serbia, is in Paris, in touch with M. Clemenceau. Serbia is better acquainted with the details of Bulgaria's treachery to the allies than the French or British governments can possibly be, and Serbia knows exactly what conditions must be imposed in order to attain justice, liberty and peace in the Balkans.

Bulgaria's squeal is the forerunner of squeals from Turkey, Austria-Hungary and Germany. Let the good work go on! Blessed are the peace-makers, the great guns of the allies that are thundering on every front! Foch, Haig, Pershing, Diaz, Allenby, d'Esperey, Otani and the other generals are doing God's work when they smash down the enemy defenses and batter their way to the heart of the outlaw empires. Liberty will make the proper kind of peace.

*Wednesday, October 2, 1918*

### Closing In On the Enemy

THE enemy is now palpably suffering from internal convulsions. They are unerring indications of demoralization and harbingers of defeat. The collapse may not come soon, for the fabric of German militarism is both extensive and tough, but the fact is now recognized throughout the world that the German system is doomed. Miscalculations, adverse circumstances, and the growing strength of the allies have combined to deal deadly blows at the Germans, and matters have reached such a pass that not all the intellect and force at their command are sufficient to repair the breaches. The German armies are overmatched; German intrigue in the Balkans is outmaneuvered; German influence in Russia is waning as the allies gain momentum; the German people are restive, despondent and menacing.

The gigantic shadow of the coming catastrophe has thrown all Germany into darkness. The emperor and his satellites are in a semi-panic. The chancellor is borne down by conflicting currents, yet he must wield the emperor's authority for a while, as there is no stronger hand. The emperor throws out sops to public opinion, while withholding any definite assurance of relief or liberalization of political powers. He says he wishes to give the people greater participation in the direction of government; but he stops with the pretended wish. His empty phrases are just the kind that are uttered by tyrants before their fall, when they are blinded by folly and cannot see the prison bars or the grave at the end of their road.

Mitteleuropa has been disemboweled by the collapse of Bulgaria. It is more destructive of Germany's vitality than Russia's defection proved to be to the allies' strength. The allies virtually traded off Russia for America, but Germany cannot find another road to Turkey. Without Bulgaria Turkey is lost, and without Turkey the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg empires stand surrounded with crushingly powerful enemies. Turkey's loss means Russia's recovery through allied assistance via the Black Sea. It means also a direct attack upon Austria's weakest flank by a combination of powers supported by both land and sea transportation. It probably means, also, the early clearing of the Adriatic and hence the closing of the Mediterranean to every hostile submarine. This, in turn, would mean the



immediate strengthening of the allied forces from Gibraltar to Odessa and Archangel.

The psychological condition of Germany is as bad as the political and military conditions. The failure to break down the allies in March, April and June caused widespread depression in Germany. It has been intensified and made universal by the failure of the army to withstand the allied onslaughts. Nothing so strongly proves the changed temper of the Germans as the language now employed by the German emperor. He is compelled to appeal to the people to modify their anger and grant the government another chance. His words reveal that the people are in an ugly mood.

The allies are redoubling their efforts to break down the enemy system, now that it is badly battered. Every possible effort should be employed at this time. The activities of the people, their armies and their rulers should be incessant and most carefully directed to the great end in view. The enemy will not fail to seize every possible expedient to wriggle out of disaster. He has shown that he can act with lightning quickness. He is capable of immense mischief and was never as dangerous as at present. If the allies should relax their vigilance or their effort in politics and on the battlefield, the enemy would be enabled to prolong the war and possibly find advantages in the hour of surrender.

While Foch's hammer is battering down Germany's main strength in the west, the allies should strain every nerve to beat down and annihilate the enemy elsewhere as well. After four years of failure the allies now have the upper hand in the Balkans. They will have only themselves to blame if the enemy should elude their grasp and again outwit them as he did in 1914, 1915, 1916 and 1917.

*Sunday, October 6, 1918*

## The Critical Days

THE enemy is desperately endeavoring to make both peace and war. His cunning diplomatists and skilled generals are straining every nerve to extricate the German empire from the position into which its folly has plunged it. If the generals can win victory, peace will be discarded as a worn-off garment. If the diplomatists can negotiate an advantageous peace, war will be abandoned instantly on account of its killing effect upon the German people.

The German government, by incessant care for over 40 years, has built up an intelligence service, a spy system and a propaganda system which far excel those of any other country. The German leaders are not only informed of the sentiment in democratic and therefore outspoken nations, but are able to conceal from those nations the real purposes of Germany, thanks to the absolutism which confines vital secrets to a few minds.

As the situation of the German empire becomes more desperate because of military reverses and such political defeats as the collapse of Bulgaria, the world may be sure that the German leaders will redouble their efforts to find a way out. They are using their intelligence service to ascertain to a nicety what the peoples of free nations are thinking of, whether they could be wheedled into making peace without victory, or whether they will compel their governments to carry on the war at any cost until the German government surrenders unconditionally or is shattered.

While a large part of the German people have a distorted idea of America and Americans, it cannot be denied that the German government is remarkably well informed. Its spy service keeps it well posted and its propagandists and secret agents here do their best to interpret American psychology for the German government's information. They sometimes make a mess of it, but nevertheless they do obtain information and convey it to Berlin. Therefore it behooves Americans to guard their tongues and their writings.

Undue and irresponsible discussion of peace possibilities by Americans is a help to the enemy. It aids him in devising schemes for entangling the peoples of entente countries so that they will, perhaps, turn from extreme exertions in supporting the war and begin to dally with peace dreams. Is it not quite possible at this moment

that Americans have slackened their support of the boys at the front by mistaking the recent successes as sure forerunners of overwhelming and early victory? What right have Americans here to presume that the allied armies will soon bring the German system to its knees? There is more ignorance than knowledge here concerning the immense war operations on the western front. No one in the United States, not even President Wilson, is competent to pass judgment upon the strategic and tactical problems involved in the defeat of the German armies. President Wilson modestly leaves the matter to expert commanders on the ground, but other Americans are not quite so diffident. They do not hesitate to pass upon the peace and war questions, strategy and all, and they are pleased if the German government takes notice of any suggestions they may make.

These days are more critical and important than any that have elapsed since the war began. The German empire is actually more dangerous now than at any previous time, because it is more desperate and because its poisoning peace overtures seem to be more greedily devoured in allied countries. It is a dangerous situation for the allies. The fruits of victory may be snatched from them by the wily adversary, working his cunning schemes upon the unsuspecting peoples of entente countries, and particularly America. Americans are so fond of praise, so magnanimous in success and so eager to prove their liberality that many of them are quite likely to urge "generous treatment" of the enemy, at the very moment when the enemy is preparing to stab America in the back.

The problem of reaching peace out of this red morass of war is one that calls for extreme caution and firm will operating on all the factors involved. Offhand advice is worse than worthless. President Wilson and his close advisers will be taxed to the limit of their capacity and endurance in the days that are coming. American citizens can best assist them to clinch the victory by supporting the government; by buying liberty bonds; by paying their taxes honestly and cheerfully; by talking and thinking war and not peace, and by leaving the great problems to the great man who is charged with the solution of them.



*Saturday, October 12, 1918*

## The Enemy in Panic

THE destructive effect of the allied victories and President Wilson's counterstroke to the German fraudulent peace proposal is beginning to appear. The counsels of the German empire are split into a thousand fragments. No two statesmen or newspapers hold the same opinion. The discussions range from frenzied rage to panic fear, and the suggestions for carrying on the peace overtures are as inconsistent and incoherent as the German military movements at the front. Evidently the whole nation is in one of those brainstorms which sometimes overwhelm the German intellect, causing it to execute the most absurd and animal-like contortions.

No doubt the chief credit for this disturbance goes to the allied armies. The Germans are on the verge of panic. They know the full extent of the deviltries they have committed, and like all murderers they shudder at the approach of the avengers. There was nothing too hellish for the German army and navy and air fleet to perpetrate upon the allied peoples. Now, when the allied armies hammer their way to the Rhine, the German people fear that the malice that inspired their own acts will inspire the armies of France, England and America to ravage and devastate Germany.

President Wilson's barbed shaft, however, is also responsible for much of the Teuton confusion. Prince Max of Baden fondly presumed that he could impale Mr. Wilson upon one horn or the other of a dilemma when he asked the United States to request the allies to grant an armistice. He assumed that Mr. Wilson would answer yes or no, and either answer would have given the German government some leverage, either toward making peace or toward stiffening up the rapidly demoralizing army. But Mr. Wilson gave Germany no satisfaction either for peace or war. Instead, he threw into the German nation a bone of contention that has started the whole country to quarreling.

The Germans are now up against this situation: The enemy is upon them. Not a moment is to be lost. A quick decision must be made, but it must be the right decision. The fate of the Hohenzollerns and the empire itself depends upon immediate correct action. What shall that action be? Shall Wilson's fourteen points be accepted? Scan them again—Alsace-Lorraine to France, Serbia to

Serbia, Belgium to Belgium, Poland to Poland—never! Germany will fight to the last ditch rather than surrender these gains. But Germany is almost at the last ditch! The allies are almost on the Rhine. The German armies are overmatched. America is sending 2,000,000 more men, and 2,000,000 after them. Shall the army withdraw and then demand an armistice? Read Wilson's note again—there is no promise of an armistice!

But wait! Wilson asks the chancellor whom he represents. He seems to intimate that if the chancellor represents some one besides the old military crowd, he will discuss peace. Very good! Let Prince Max reply that he represents everybody in Germany—the emperor, the reichstag, the people. For what purpose? Wilson's question must be answered; does Germany accept the fourteen points or not? Do the German people accept the fourteen points? Never! Cannot they lie to Wilson and tell him they accept? But if they do, he will demand immediate compliance—withdrawal from Russia, France, Roumania, Belgium, Poland, Serbia, Alsace-Lorraine—as preliminary to any conference. Will not lies do any good? No; because Wilson will demand proof in action. Will not the truth do? No; because the truth is that Germany will not surrender her gains until she is beaten. Then Wilson will be satisfied with nothing but Germany's defeat and surrender? Yes. Then why try to fool him with words? Let us fool him with acts.

Accordingly the German, Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish governments are doing their best, with the remnant of composure that is left them before defeat, to deceive the allies with mock shows of "liberalization" and "federalization" of those countries. Prince Max assures the Poles that Germany will give them a square deal, at the very moment when the Germans cry that they will never surrender Poland at Wilson's demand. The Austrian premier calls a few rascals together and devises a fraudulent outline of "autonomy" for subject nations in the Hapsburg empire. Bulgaria fawns upon the allies and tries to convince them that her treachery to the enemy is sincere by offering to attack the Turks, now that the Turks are already beaten. The Turkish cabinet resigns and another set of scoundrels takes office, announcing that the new régime favors the allies, although "technically" allied to Germany.

Vain, vain! The enemy nations are in the toils. The superiority of force and intelligence is with the allies. Marshal Foch and President Wilson are in easy control of the two giant weapons that are driving to bay and smashing to pieces the world's enemy.

*Thursday, October 17, 1918*

### Peace Offers as War Traps

**W**HATEVER the mask that covers and makes apparently genuine the renewed attempt of the enemy to maneuver the United States into peace negotiations, the presumption is overwhelming that the peace overtures are purely war tactics. The German "government" is the Germany military organization, which dictates what the foreign office shall say or not say. The chancellor is still the spokesman of the war lord, and the war lord is dominated by the keener intellects and stronger wills that guide the military machine.

Every peace attack from this time forth is sure to be a step toward the real thing—surrender without conditions. But it is the height of folly to assume that any peace offer will be made in good faith at this time which actually contemplates the unconditional surrender of the German armies in the field. Let the word go out that Germany has "capitulated," that the emperor has abdicated, that there is rioting in Berlin, and so on; all these are but preludes to the real thing, not the thing itself.

A prize fighter knowing in his soul that he has met his superior and feeling that he is losing strength, will resort to every possible artifice to avoid the knockout blow. Germany is a fighter who is not bound by any rules, and hence will use any stratagem, however base, if it promises advantage. No inconsistency, no shame, no reproach, no regard for the future restrains the criminals who are now driven to desperation. They will betray the German people without compunction if such a course will help to extricate the military organization from its plight. They will promise anything, in the hope that subsequent treachery may show them how to violate all pledges. If the allies demand guarantees, they will give guarantees, as little as possible, and always with the intention of wriggling out of all obligations.

The world may confidently look for specious demonstrations in Germany, invented for the purpose of convincing the allied nations that Germany has thrown off its yoke of Hohenzollernism and is actually governed by the people. Tempting peace offers will be made, ostensibly emanating from the people, but in reality conceived and executed by the military conspirators. One Hohenzollern is as



good as another in this storm. There may be a rapid succession of emperors, regents and imperial councils.

The unconditional surrender of the German army by its commanding general is the only proof that will convince the world that Germany honestly seeks peace for peace's sake. When the white flag goes up and representatives of the German commander appear at Marshal Foch's headquarters to apply for the terms upon which an armistice will be granted with a view to surrender, there will be an assurance of peace. There is no reason to assume that this act will be performed until the German army is actually beaten. That point has not yet been reached. It may be brought nearer, no doubt, by popular uprisings in Germany, where the desire for peace is becoming more genuine as defeat and invasion draw nigh. But all the lessons of this war serve as a warning against placing confidence in the presumption that the German people do not and will not stand behind their army.

In considering the peace rumors and proposals it is well to ask these questions: Can peace come out of Germany? Must it not come from the allies? Will not the perfidious foe, even after he surrenders unconditionally, commit abominable acts against the allies and deliberately violate each engagement that he enters into, unless he is actually prevented by physical force? That is what he has done in every conceivable political and military situation. The Germans, in short, are rebels against truth and justice, so incorrigibly and incurably rebellious that they must be overpowered and shackled before they will desist from their acts of enmity and treachery. After desisting from the acts they are as rebellious in spirit as before.

These people are worshipers of brute force. The faith in brute force, established as a religion by Frederick William, Frederick the Great, Bismarck and their successors, will not pass away until the brute force which sustains that faith has been shattered, scattered and brought to death.

*Saturday, October 19, 1918*

## Liberty and Its Counterfeit

TWO official utterances appearing simultaneously today, both concerning Austria-Hungary, show in striking contrast the difference between real and fraudulent freedom. Emperor Karl, in a manifesto which reeks of falsehood and blasphemy, pretends to promise the people of Austria "local autonomy." The Czecho-Slovak nation, through its representatives, issues its declaration of independence—a document that is worthy to rank with the noblest expressions of man in aspiring to liberty.

Emperor Karl bemoans the "obstacles which brutal force creates against intellectual and economic prosperity." He assures "my people," as he calls them, that their desires will be "harmonized and realized" at the conclusion of the peace which he seems to think will leave him on his throne. He says "I am decided to accomplish this work with the free collaboration of my peoples." Then he outlines the niggardly and counterfeit installment of freedom which he proposes to bestow as from a god upon poor benighted mankind. It is a poor assortment, and care is taken to deny independence to Poland.

The "brutal force" which Emperor Karl bemoans is in fact the brutal tyranny of the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg dynasties. That is to be swept away along with the dynasties themselves. The people of Austria are no longer "my peoples," to be bought, sold, put to battle, starved and robbed of their liberties by a system of brutal force which has at its head a Hapsburg. "I am decided," says Emperor Karl. Poor piece of inferior clay, mouthing the phrases and uttering the lies of a bygone and unhappy age! Humanity and God have decided, not emperors and chancellors; and the decision of God and humanity is in process of execution. Turn from the blasphemer who clings to the ideal of brute force and the divine rights of kings. Consider this utterance by the people of Bohemia:

"We cannot and will not continue to live under the direct or indirect rule of the violators of Belgium, France and Serbia, the would-be murderers of Russia and Roumania, the murderers of tens of thousands of civilians and soldiers of our blood and the accomplices in numberless unspeakable crimes committed in this war against humanity by the two degenerate and irresponsible dynasties. We will not remain a part of a state which has no justification for existence

and which, refusing to accept the fundamental principles of modern world organization, remains only an artificial and immoral political structure, hindering every movement toward democratic and social progress. The Hapsburg dynasty, weighed down by a huge inheritance of error and crime, is a perpetual menace to the peace of the world, and we deem it our duty toward humanity and civilization to aid in bringing about its downfall and destruction.

"We reject the sacrilegious assertion that the power of the Hapsburg and Hohenzollern dynasties is of divine origin; we refuse to recognize the divine right of kings. Our nation elected the Hapsburgs to the throne of Bohemia of its own free will, and by the same right deposes them. We hereby declare the Hapsburg dynasty unworthy of leading our nation, and deny all of their claims to rule in the Czechoslovak land, which we here and now declare shall henceforth be a free and independent people and nation."

There speaks the spirit of liberty itself. It is the language which free peoples, everywhere and always, use and understand. America knows this language and extends the right hand of brotherhood to the free nation that is throwing off the Hapsburg yoke.

The oppressed peoples of Jugo-Slavia are also about to receive their freedom, not from a Hapsburg blasphemously posing as an agent of God, but from the mouths of Serbian cannon and at the point of Serbia's sword. Within a few days the armies of King Peter will be in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the Banat of Temesvar. The Serbs of those provinces will prefer the guarantee of the Serbian rifles to all the scraps of paper signed by their imperial oppressor. Once the Serbs have freed these frontier provinces, the release of their brothers-in-race, the Croats and Slovenes, will follow. The creation of a free and independent South Slav nation is going on, and the only persons in the world who are blind to the fact are the doomed Hapsburgs and their satellites.



*Thursday, October 24, 1918*

## Nearer to Victorious Peace

THE Hohenzollern system responsible for this war is dealt a stupefying and probably fatal blow by the President of the United States in his note published today. Its import is to this effect:

Germany having said that she accepts unreservedly the President's terms of peace, and that this acceptance comes from ministers actually representing the German people, and having given assurance that there will be no more violation of the rules of war, the President announces that he has taken up with the allies the question of an armistice, but with these reservations and conditions: No armistice will be considered which does not leave the allied powers in a position to enforce any arrangements entered into and which does not provide for the demobilization of the German army. The President has suggested to the allies that if they are disposed to consider peace with Germany on the terms he has outlined, they ask their military advisers to join the American military advisers in framing and submitting a form of armistice whose terms shall protect the nations involved and insure to the allies and the United States the unrestricted power to enforce the terms of peace. If from a military point of view an armistice is impossible, the military advisers are to say so. If the terms of an armistice are adopted by the allies and accepted by Germany, that will be the best of evidence that Germany intends in good faith to accept the peace that is to be imposed upon her.

So much for the test of Germany's real desire for peace on the President's terms. If Germany will agree to put her army in a position where it cannot be used to resume the war, and then actually executes that agreement, it will be sufficient evidence that peace on the President's terms is at hand. If for any reason the allies do not see their way clear to move toward peace on the President's terms at this time, they have only to decline to enter into an armistice on military grounds. No military advantage now held over Germany, or any about to be gained, will be lost by the consideration of a possible armistice safeguarded with such conditions as are outlined.

The President next tells the German people that he is not to be deceived by the false pretense that Germany has been democratized. He tells them that they do not yet control the military authorities of

the empire; that Emperor William still controls the empire's policy. He notifies them that the United States will not conclude peace with any but the veritable representatives of the German people, and then only if the German people are the real rulers of Germany. With the present masters of Germany the President says the United States will not negotiate, but will demand surrender.

This notification of the settled will of the United States and the allies will fall like the sound of doom on the German autocracy that has made this war. The war makers of Germany cannot make peace, nor can they compel peace. If peace is to come to the Germans before their empire is disrupted and their land ravaged with invasion, they must make it themselves, by taking control of their own government and throwing themselves on the mercy of the allied powers. They must throw overboard the Hohenzollerns and must recall the military authorities who control the army. They must do this immediately, as the guns of Foch are hammering home the ultimatum of Wilson. The German people have no time for further quibbling. They must jettison the Hohenzollerns or go down with the sinking ship. They cannot gain anything by shouting out falsehoods to the allies, for the fate of the German empire hangs in the balance, and the allies will not hesitate to strike the last annihilating blow if the Germans delay in taking the peace that the allies are willing to give them.

Once more the world is indebted to President Wilson for carrying the allied cause a step nearer to victorious peace.

*Thursday, October 31, 1918*

### Critical Times at Hand

"I AM uneasy and apprehensive, more than during the war." These words, written by Jay to Washington in 1786, after the United States had won its independence and before it had formed a "more perfect union," ought to serve as a reminder to the allied governments of the dangers that beset them while they are casting about for means to make the world's liberty secure in peace. The critical period in American history was when the people had liberty and did not know what to do with it. The critical period of the world's history may be when it has beaten Germany and does not know what to do with the liberty that has been won.

There is no need of beating about the bush concerning President Wilson's famous Fourteen Points. They constituted a fairly comprehensive peace program at the time they were uttered, but their author never contended that they were all-embracing, and in the last few days he has notified Austria-Hungary that they are radically changed. The recent political upheaval in the United States has shown that a large proportion of the American people will insist upon peace terms that are not included in the Fourteen Points, and, of course, this public insistence will be felt in the Senate when the historic hour arrives for the ratification of the peace treaty or treaties.

That ratification must be given by two-thirds of the Senators present, and therefore the two great parties must be substantially united in approval of the peace. Moreover, there will be little or no "executive session" secrecy surrounding the peace treaty, for every one in the country, including President Wilson, agrees that the time for secret diplomacy is past. The people of the United States will not permit the government to commit them to any arrangement with Germany, even a beaten and prostrate Germany, unless the terms are all published in full for all men to read.

But the attitude of the United States is only one factor of a problem that affects all humanity. Each of the allied nations has its own peace terms in reserve, to be brought out in conference. Some of these terms may be impossible of realization, either because of the objections of the other allies or because they infringe upon the rights of neutrals or of peoples liberated from the enemy yoke. The great objective of the allied governments will be justice to all, but there is



good reason for uneasiness and apprehension in considering the difficulty of dealing out exact justice to the whole world in settling questions offhand that have provoked wars for centuries. Justice is not quite fluid enough to be poured into a great pot, from which the nations may take as many ladlesful as they are entitled to, no more and no less.

The unity of the allied nations in the war has been admirable. May it be as firm in devising peace! But the unity during the war has been promoted by the pressure of deadly peril threatening all alike. The allies have been like the staves of a barrel, upon which there was a common pressure that held them together. They obeyed one instinct, and that the strongest of all—the instinct of self-preservation. But when the war is won, and the pressure ceases, and the enemy lies open and exposed to punishment and exploitation, the unity of the allies will be subjected to a terrible test. Self-interest will replace self-preservation as a controlling motive, and the tendency will be exactly opposite to that which drew the allies together. They will fly apart unless they now, beforehand, agree upon the principles and most of the details of the peace which they are to impose upon the enemy.

The time is short. The enemy is disintegrating. He is straining every nerve to throw the allies into a premature peace conference, before they have agreed among themselves upon what they want and what they can have. If Germany can lure the allies into a peace conference before the peace program is agreed upon, the probability is very strong that she will wriggle out unscathed, if not actually victorious, through the disagreements of the allies and the possible rupture of the entente.

The allies owe it to the world to organize instantly a supreme political council, with full powers, to meet behind closed doors. They should place before this council, without reserve, all their individual peace demands. The council should do its utmost to adapt and reconcile these demands one with another. It should also do what no individual nation can do, and that is to outline the metes and bounds of nations about to be born. Having assembled and agreed upon all these peace terms the supreme council should immediately publish them broadcast to the world, word for word, as they are to be imposed upon the enemy.

Unless some procedure like this is followed the military victories will catch the political departments of the allies napping, and the governments will be compelled to frame a makeshift peace.

*Friday, November 1, 1918*

## The Crumbling of Empires

LIKE an eggshell the thing called Mitteleuropa is crushing in on all sides. The Hohenzollerns, Hapsburgs and Ottoman Turks see their empires crumble and blow to dust before the guns of the allies. The events of yesterday alone are sufficient to fill volumes of the concluding portion of the history of tyranny. Turkey and Austria-Hungary virtually surrendered and thereby facilitated the downfall of the German empire. Within a few days, from present prospects, the civilized nations of the earth will have the fate of Germany absolutely in their hands. The German people will then pass through the fiery ordeal of examination as to their participation in the horrors that have stupefied the world, as a preliminary to the meting out of punishment to all guilty persons and nations.

There will be a reckoning with persons as well as with governments. The fiends bearing human shape who drenched the world in blood must pay for their crimes with their own blood. "Blood will have blood." The civilized nations, acting for humanity, are the agents of God. They will deal out the vengeance that belongs to God.

Humanity rejoices in the news from Italy, following upon that from France, Belgium, Serbia, Palestine and Mesopotamia. The enslaved are made free by the valor of their compatriots. Italy's sudden offensive has developed on an enormous scale, employing in various ways at least 2,000,000 men against a still larger Austro-Hungarian force. The Italian forces actively engaged number nearly 1,300,000, and the allied contingents assisting the Italians number about 100,000. There are more Italians in France than there are allies, all combined, in Italy. Therefore the credit for Italy's wonderful overthrow of Austria belongs principally to Italy herself.

The beginning of the Italian offensive was modestly described as a local operation, and for several days the Italian public was unaware of the tremendous sweep of their army across the Piave toward the Tagliamento and northward into the mountains. Apparently the Austrian forces are cut in two by the taking of Ponte nella Alpi. At any rate, the enemy is demoralized, beaten, and desperately endeavoring to retreat. The request for an armistice has been refused, very properly, and it would not be surprising if the Austrian retreat should become a panic flight, worse than the Italian break at Caporetto a



year ago. The Italians fell back upon a united nation, while the Austrians are falling back upon starvation, revolution and anarchy.

The reports from the interior of Austria, while they must be taken with some reserve, are doubtless faithful indications of the anarchy to come. Foreign Minister Lammasch's statement in the reichsrath concerning the army is most significant. He virtually expresses the fear that army discipline will collapse and that the soldiers will come back from the front a howling and starving mob. In that case the anarchy that prevails in Russia would be mild in comparison, for the Russians are saved from the horrors of race massacres which are sure to come if the peoples of Austria-Hungary once escape from the iron hand of the central government. In the meantime the skeleton of the Vienna government is vainly trying to arrange an armistice and throw itself upon the mercy of the allied powers. So much for the Hapsburgs.

As for Turkey, the world cannot but rejoice at the developments which are the forerunners of unconditional surrender. The entire Turkish force opposing the British army on the Tigris has been captured; the British forces are within 40 miles of Mosul, and Turkey has signed an armistice which opens up the Dardanelles to the allied fleets.

There is a strong allied naval force in the Ægean, the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. This force can now take command of the Black Sea and the ports of Odessa and Constanza. Within a few days the foundation of force and fraud which Germany laid at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest will be blasted away by the guns of the allied fleets. Germany's hectic dream of absorbing Russia passes away, while Roumania's nightmare of bondage is succeeded by a glad awakening. Allied troops are even now on Roumanian soil. Within a few days or weeks a Roumanian force should be in Transylvania and Bukowina, taking over that part of the now obsolete Austro-Hungarian empire which belongs to the kingdom of Roumania. As for Ukrainia, the people of that so-called republic need not organize further to repel the German hordes seeking wheat. The Germans will have business elsewhere when the allied fleet appears at Odessa.

Thus from every side the monstrous growth of blood and tyranny called Mitteleuropa collapses before the guns of civilization, and one nation after another leaps to freedom. Let the great nations keep their hands off the armies and the fleets! Let the flags go forward, without parley or armistice! Let the guns batter a pathway through enemy ruins for the sword of vengeance!



*Tuesday, November 12, 1918*

## The Triumph of Right

THE greatest conflict in the history of the world came to an end yesterday morning at 6 o'clock. At that hour the guns, which had never ceased to thunder for 1,567 days, fired their last salvo into the ranks of the beaten enemy.

That Germany is beaten, utterly and completely beaten beyond all cavil, is clear from the text of the armistice she was forced to sign. No such protocol of defeat was ever subscribed to by an army in the field. The mightiest military power the world has ever seen has been beaten to its knees. It is a military defeat in the strictest sense of the world.

Not a shred of prestige, no means of "saving its face" has been left to its supreme command. It has to pass under the Caudine Forks erected by outraged civilization. Its arrogant war lord and his eldest son are in ignominious flight; the score of monarchs and ruling princes, his confederates, have lost their thrones, while his paladins, on whom he counted to break the world to his will, stand today, with their armies, before a shameful surrender.

One by one, the inexorable clauses of the text of the armistice strip Germany of every shred of conquest. Her armies are disarmed, her territory occupied, her plunder in money and material wrested from her. Her high-sea fleet, the proud creation of half a century of effort, will, in a few days, be in the hands of her adversaries.

In no country and at no epoch was such a well-deserved humiliation ever inflicted on any great power. The treaties she entered into when her triumph was at its zenith are declared to be "scraps of paper," torn up and scattered to every wind that blows.

In the field the triumph of the allies is complete. What fate reserves for them in the domain of policy and diplomacy no one can foresee. Revolution is sweeping with giant strides over the empire, and today extends from Koenigsburg to the Lake of Constance. One of the most curious features of the revolution is its centrifugal tendency. One state after another is breaking away from the empire and proclaiming itself a separate republic. This tendency shows how strong is the survival of the particularist feeling in Germany. It may also be due to a desire on the part of the individual states to disso-

ciate themselves from the crimes committed by the imperial government.

If the movement persists, it can only have disastrous effects, as it would mean repudiation of the colossal war debt accumulated by the central authority, entailing national bankruptcy. It will further place the allies in an embarrassing position, as it will deprive them of any authority with which they can discuss the final terms of peace and reparation.

The only concrete fact helping to make for a settlement is the occupation by the allied armies of Alsace-Lorraine and the valley of the Rhine. This territory will be the only thing stable in the tempest-tossed empire. It remains to be seen if the allies will be able to limit their action to this occupation, or if the threatened chaos and anarchy will not constrain them to further action.

So far as one can judge, the new government has met with no serious opposition. The report that Field Marshal von Hindenburg (who seems to have preserved some remnant of prestige in the general debacle) has offered to place the army at the disposal of the Ebert government may afford some guarantee that the country will be saved from anarchy. At the same time reports that thousands of soldiers are deserting and making their way home show that the much-vaunted Prussian discipline has completely broken down.

Under these circumstances the Hindenburg offer may turn out to be a broken reed. Everything now depends on the influence and authority which the socialist leaders possess with the masses. If this proves to be an illusion, the world will be face to face with a bolshevik outbreak more terrible than that of Russia, because it will be more intelligent. Its chief ally will be the widespread misery the German empire is facing.

A country which is just awakening to the collapse of its dream of world dominion and finds itself face to face with the reality of complete and humiliating defeat, is capable of any act of madness. Every country that has a common frontier with Germany must now prepare to localize the most formidable national explosion the world has ever seen and prevent its disastrous effects spreading on to their territory.

*Saturday, November 16, 1918*

## Let the Enemy Starve First

THE Germans are drawing a little too heavily upon the abundant store of American credulity and magnanimity when they ask Americans to regard them as genuine converts to democracy, deeply offended victims of their late militaristic rulers and especially deserving of the fatted calf of forgiveness. If the German women who are appealing to American women for special favors would kindly hold aloof until some evidence is forthcoming that the German nation is not still a rapacious wolf, harmless only because overpowered, there might be a better chance for them in the forthcoming drastic rationing of the world.

The German people's conversion is too sudden and too voluble to be convincing. Four years of accumulated proof of savage delight in atrocious crimes and robberies cannot be wiped out by a week or two of internal disorders and declamations on the beauties of democracy. The truth is that the German people supported their imperial assassin of nations until his murder machinery was smashed and Germany in danger of invasion. Then they affected a change of heart. Probably they will change their form of government. Very good; so a man can change his coat. But the leopard cannot change his spots, and the German people cannot convince their victims in other nations that they have become humanized overnight. There is so little repentance visible; so little real evidence of a change of heart. The voice that goes up from Germany is one of regret, but not for crimes committed. It is regret that victory was not achieved—that France and Belgium and the other allied nations were not put in a position to be exploited to the utmost.

When any American is inclined to go out of his way to exhibit his generosity toward the German people, let him reflect a moment upon what those people would have exacted of France, England and Italy if the kaiser had been victorious. Let him glance at what was done in Belgium and Serbia, and what was prepared to be done in Russia. Let him bear in mind that the German people profited greatly in the looting of allied countries, and that no voice in Germany was raised against the robbing of allied countries to feed Germans.

It is not for the purpose of advocating a brutal or cruel policy toward the German people that these remarks are made. Two wrongs



do not make a right, and it is not in the nature of Americans to rejoice in the calamities of their neighbors. But it is the nature of Americans to be entirely too generous to a beaten foe. The tendency is not toward retribution and reprisal, but toward an excessive generosity which, unless checked by common sense, swiftly runs into a combination of maudlin slobber and boastful charity. The quality of mercy deteriorates into something that degrades both the giver and the receiver.

The German people deserve no tenderness at the hands of Americans or any other of the allied peoples. They do deserve justice. It has been wisely said recently by a prominent American that mercy without justice is even more injurious than justice without mercy.

Justice should be observed in dealing with the German people. But the other peoples deserve justice also. The peoples of the allied nations, who have suffered at the hands of the German government and people, should have more generosity extended to them than to the German people. If that is not justice, then the allies are allies to no purpose, and righteousness is not worthy of reward.

The world will soon be on famine rations. There need be no doubt that millions of individuals are doomed to die of hunger. The best that the civilized nations can do will not enable them to reach all the stricken ones. If the German people had sooner quit their effort to rob other nations, there would have been a chance to produce more food this year. Now the world's millions must get along with what they have. Are the Belgians and the French and the Russians and the Roumanians to be starved in order that the Germans must be fed? That question is now before the allied governments, and it will be before the allied peoples before another month.

The German people see the specter of famine and are howling already. The allied peoples are not quite so quick to howl, but the United States of America will be a devil of ingratitude, a murderer comparable to William Hohenzollern himself, if it diverts to the Germans any food that is necessary to keep the peoples of allied nations from starving to death.

*Sunday, November 17, 1918*

### Watch the Enemy

**I**S IT not a little premature for Americans to celebrate peace with Germany? Are they sure that the wild beast is tamed as well as shackled? The proposition to feed Germany, because Germany appears to be reformed and harmless, is certainly startling. There should be some more convincing evidence of Germany's reformation before the people of the United States begin to expend their sympathy upon the people who but lately were celebrating the slaughter of women and children.

The Russians are natural friends of Americans, and now the Russian people by millions are facing death by starvation. Where is the agonizing wail for them? Where is the Dr. Solf who appeals frantically for food for the Russians? Russia was one of the allies, and despite the devilish schemes of the Germans and the bolsheviki, Russia is still at heart friendly to America and determined to find the road to ordered liberty. Yet even in Russia there is war, and American soldiers may be in that country for many months before peace is finally attained. If the Germans are successful in some of their plans, the Russian bolsheviki will make Russia a caldron of hellbroth for years to come. The allied troops are there to aid the Russians to extricate themselves from the net of the Germans. But the bolsheviki are such a stubborn combination of stupidity, malevolence and treason, and the opportunities for German intrigue are so numerous, that the allies are badly handicapped in their work of reconstruction in Russia.

Who is so confident of the genuineness of German reform that he can assert that the Germans have ceased their propaganda in Russia? Who can show that the Germans are actually, in good faith, preparing to move out of Russia, bag and baggage? For one piece of superficial evidence indicating that the Germans are reconciled to the loss of Russia, there can be brought a dozen pieces of absolute proof that powerful German interests are at this moment hurriedly extending their grasp in Russia, with no visible intention of complying with the terms of the armistice, in letter or in spirit. Under the disguise of individual action, under financial transactions apparently innocent, the Germans are rapidly absorbing all that is worth while in Russia.

Before jumping to the conclusion that the present armistice necessarily means immediate satisfactory peace with the enemy, it

should be borne in mind that during the last four years every official act of the persons representing Germany in any capacity has been an act of fraud, evasion, falsehood and crime. Germany has built up a standard of consistent dishonor that cannot be destroyed in a moment. The world has paid a terrible price in life and property for the lesson it was forced to learn—the lesson that Germany was destitute of honor of word or deed. Is that lesson now to be forgotten, merely because the Germans take on the appearance of a free people and send out frantic appeals for food? How free are they, and how comes it that they are free? Why are they hungry? If they should see a chance to deal a treacherous blow, would the change of government stop them? If they could rob other peoples of food, would they not do it? Their appeal itself has in it a ruthless selfishness that gives no heed to the greater sufferings of nations that they lately ravaged.

Bolshevism may work havoc in Germany. One of the arguments advanced in favor of granting succor to the Germans is that it will save them from bolshevism and thus enable them to establish ordered government and go ahead with the work of repaying their debt to nations they outraged. That is a plausible argument—so plausible, indeed, that it may have been made in Germany. Certainly the Germans will not be slow to utilize it, and perhaps at this moment the dumb show of “anarchy” and “red guards” in Germany is staged to frighten the allies into a ready release of food cargoes.

The Germans are capable of any kind of treachery. They will turn bolshevists if it suits their purpose, or they will squelch the red guards within an hour if there is something to be gained at the expense of other countries. In the meantime it is only prudent to scrutinize everything emanating from Germany and to resolve all doubts in favor of the allies and against the Germans. If the German people suffer because of this attitude of skepticism, they have only themselves to blame. They have taught the world to be cautious in dealing with the wild beast that called itself Germany.



*Tuesday, November 19, 1918*

## The Making of Peace

NO GREATER or more complicated task was ever undertaken by man than that which has been assumed by the allied nations in the hope of establishing democracy in permanent peace. The difficulties of the war are small compared with the difficulties of the peace that is sought. Much time must necessarily elapse before the desired condition can be attained, even if all the allied nations rise to the noblest heights of altruism and concord, and even if their representatives should be endowed with wisdom similar to that exercised by the framers of the Constitution of the United States.

The combination of Hohenzollernism and militarism in Germany has been broken. That is an enormous step toward universal democracy and peace. But Hohenzollernism alone may not be utterly destroyed, nor militarism alone. It is quite possible that one of the Hohenzollerns may head a successful counter-revolution in Germany. There will be no assurance of the harmlessness of the Hohenzollerns until they are corpses or so securely isolated that they cannot communicate with the outside world, or the world with them. As for militarism, that may be anything but dead in Germany. The German army is still a formidable force, falling back upon German soil, where it may be capable of reorganization under a popular leader. The German instinct of organization may operate with remarkable results in the rehabilitation of the German military power. It is more likely to work toward centralization and militarism than in the other direction. In the revolutionary movement in Germany there is a method that was totally lacking in the Russian convulsion.

Is Germany liberalized, free from Hohenzollernism and militarism and responsible for any engagements that may be made by its government? That is the question that must be answered in the affirmative before the allied powers will be justified in relaxing their military vigilance over Europe. If the German revolution is genuine, it may be entirely too successful; it may transform Germany into a howling anarchy, in which case the allied armies would be compelled to occupy the country throughout its length and breadth. If the revolution is a mere gust of passion or a Hohenzollern subterfuge, then Germany is not really free, and the engagements of its representatives in making peace would be worthless. No doubt many

months will elapse before the world will know the true nature of Germany's apparent reorganization.

The adjustment of all relations with Germany is only one of the tasks of the allied powers. There are new nations to be dealt with and old nations to be fitted to new conditions and new boundaries. Neutrals are involved. These neutrals will try to take part in the peace deliberations, but they should be admitted only as witnesses, to present their respective cases. They have no right to sit on the bench of judgment. They did not win this war, and therefore they must remain aloof in the making of peace. The allied powers were the sole reliance of mankind in the time of stress. They were good enough as barriers against the universal enemy of liberty. The neutrals were perfectly willing that the allies should sacrifice themselves for the life of all, neutrals included. By making this sacrifice the allies became trustees of civilization and guardians of liberty. They must now make secure for all time the liberty which they fought to preserve. The work is incomplete. The trustees cannot honorably quit their work until it is finished. Nor can they honorably shift the responsibility to others whose devotion to liberty was not sufficient to take them to the battlefield. Liberty is too priceless a jewel to be intrusted to those who will not shed their blood to guard it.

Thus the so-called peace conference will be in reality a council of the allied powers, faithfully executing the trust that they have assumed. Germany cannot be one of the trustees, no matter how thoroughly the people may have reformed their government. The wolf cannot be made shepherd, even if it wears sheep's clothing. The newly born nations will be heard, but they cannot properly participate as principals in a council that is to define the boundaries of European nations. They will not be full-fledged nations, in fact, until the council has perfected its work.

It is the dream of exalted souls that the peace council will develop into a league of nations, open to all honorable free nations on equal terms, and powerful enough to compel any nation or group of nations to keep the peace in spite of any quarrel that may arise. A magnificent, a glorious dream! May it be realized; but if the peace council should accomplish the drudgery that actually confronts it, by clearing away the rubbish heaps of tyranny and giving the peoples of Europe a fair opportunity to govern themselves permanently according to their own will, it will have done a marvelous thing.

*Saturday, November 30, 1918*

## The League of Nations

THERE are many variations in detail in the ambitious and idealistic project which is called the "league of nations," but, broadly speaking, the league is conceived to be a voluntary combination of honest and well meaning nations, each of them contributing some of its sovereignty and strength to a common agency which would operate under direction of the league, to compel war-like nations to abandon aggression and accept the arbitrament of an international tribunal in the adjustment of their grievances. The usual method of bringing recalcitrant nations into line would be persuasion, but if this failed, the league of nations would use force. The league would seek to diminish the probabilities of war by agreeing to a scheme of reduction of land and sea armaments with a view to the eventual complete disarmament of all nations. No quarrel or dispute arising in the intercourse of nations would be outside the jurisdiction of the tribunal to be set up and made potent by the league.

What a marvelous and majestic spectacle would be presented by the successful working of this plan! Mankind would rise instantly to the stature of demigods. Most of the ills that afflict the world would disappear forthwith. The immense drain of war and war's evils would be stopped, and science would turn to the last foe of humanity—ignorance—with a fair prospect of driving it from earth. Disease would be diminished. Poverty would be superseded by general comfort. Famine would be unknown. The hours of labor would be reduced throughout the world. Liberal education would be well-nigh universal, with consequent improvement of morals and individual well-being. Prodigious sums of money would be available for the conquest of nature in behalf of humanity, thereby causing the deserts to become rose gardens and clover farms; the mountains would be disemboweled of their treasures; palaces would rise in magically beautiful cities, and transportation to all parts of the world would be made easy and cheap.

It is greatly to the honor of all concerned that the project for a league of nations is to be taken up for practical study at the forthcoming peace conference. The world prays for an end of wars and will yield much for that desired end. The question now is whether the nations have reached that stage of unselfish and enlightened wis-



dom and mutual confidence which is the indispensable condition precedent to the formation of a league of nations.

Is the United States prepared to share with other nations the right to prescribe the size of the United States army and navy? Is it ready to agree to submit to an international tribunal any dispute with any other nation whatever, no matter how closely the question touches the national interest or honor? Is the United States ready to supplant the Monroe doctrine with an agreement which authorizes European monarchies and empires to share in the protection of democracies in this hemisphere? Is the United States ready to commit itself to a policy which might call upon it for military and naval operations in suppressing wars anywhere in Europe, Asia, and Africa, or upon any sea? These are direct and practical questions which must be answered one way or the other within the next few months. If answered in the affirmative, this country at least will stand ready to join a league of nations.

These questions are so vitally important and so deeply affecting every American citizen and his posterity that no administration and no Congress has the right or power to answer them. The people alone have the right and power to answer them. These questions affect and modify the Constitution, which is the only expression of the people and which cannot be changed without their consent. Before the United States of America yields any part of its absolute sovereignty to any combination or league of nations for any purpose, however noble, the people of the United States must be consulted. Therefore it is quite evident that any league of nations formed at the forthcoming peace conference would have to be held in abeyance in America until the people could express their will. Membership in a league of nations would require the recasting of the government of the United States, a feat that cannot be performed by the government itself, but only by its creator and master, the people.

Fortunately for the world the allied nations can arrange for and secure peace and freedom without depending upon the creation of an ideal league of nations.

*Tuesday, December 3, 1918*

### The People Reserve Judgment

FOR good or ill, President Wilson leaves for Europe without the united support of the American people. It is not so much that some of the people are opposed to Mr. Wilson's plans as it is that they are ignorant of them. He had an opportunity yesterday to take Congress and the people into his confidence on the all-important subjects comprised under the head of peace plans, but he did not choose to discuss the matter. Consequently, while Congress and the people have only the best of wishes for Mr. Wilson in the fateful journey that he is about to take, they reserve judgment, as they must do in the absence of information, on the matters with which he will have to deal. They are familiar with the "fourteen points," as are all the allied and enemy nations, in principle; but between the principle and the application of the principle to distracted and disorganized Europe there is a world of room for difference of opinion, or even for bitterness and estrangement.

No other American has ever assumed quite as heavy a load of responsibility as Mr. Wilson has assumed in going to Europe. At least, the responsibility shouldered by others has not been so pregnant with big consequence. It was not at the suggestion of the people that the President decided to go abroad. In fact, the people were at once disquieted by the news of his decision; and it was most natural that they should eagerly await his statement of intentions in representing them so intimately in an errand so vitally affecting them. They expected from him an outline, at least, of his views, and upon his statement of them they would have gone far to acquiesce in his views, even if they seemed somewhat utopian, for the sake of showing a united front to Europe.

Instead of discussing this subject, the President chose to discuss the railroad question and other domestic subjects, which, however interesting they may be, are necessarily subordinate to the overshadowing plan of arranging the world's peace. Thus the public must remain in the dark concerning Mr. Wilson's specific ideas; and being in the dark, the people will be extremely cautious before they commit themselves.

When the President goes into conference with the executive heads of the larger allied governments he will find that each of them is

supported like a stone wall by the people of his country. Mr. Lloyd George has shrewdly called an election for December 15 in order to receive fresh from the British people a mandate to stand firmly for the interests of the British empire in the peace negotiations. Premier Clemenceau is the living voice of France, and France's aims are thoroughly understood by every Frenchman. Premier Orlando is backed by the people of Italy in a clear-cut program. Thus each of these leaders enjoys what Mr. Wilson now lacks; that is, the united and sympathetic support of all the people in putting forth a clear-cut national program.

Mr. Wilson unquestionably looms far above any other statesman in expressing the aspirations of the free and freed peoples of the world. His opinions will have immense weight in the preliminary conferences, notwithstanding the fact that the allied premiers are not under any illusions concerning American politics. They are as well aware as anybody that Mr. Wilson was unfortunate at the November election and that his spokesmanship for America is therefore impaired. But they are quite ready to yield him the first place as spokesman of the enlightened sentiment of the world. It is only when specific peace arrangements begin to be considered that the allied statesmen will be slow to yield in matters directly affecting their national interests.

The variety of questions covered by the peace negotiations will be so great, and their importance so transcendent, that the people of the United States cannot refrain from exercising their own judgment, to the best of their ability, before they place themselves unreservedly in the hands of their ambassador. They would have exercised their judgment more fully if they had had more information. If Mr. Wilson's power in the conferences should be lacking because of the lack of consolidated national support, it will not be entirely because of political differences in this country, but partly because the people do not know Mr. Wilson's intentions.



*Sunday, December 22, 1918*

## The Real and the Ideal

THE American people have great confidence in the practical wisdom of President Wilson, as well as admiration for his idealism. The people depend upon him to represent America faithfully in helping to bring about as soon as possible a safe and completely victorious peace with Germany and Austria-Hungary. The people also hope for an arrangement between civilized nations which will abolish war, but if such an arrangement cannot be perfected at this time, they will nevertheless demand such a peace as will make a German-made war impossible. The American people are not misled by the twaddle that emanates from Paris at this time. They know that President Wilson is misrepresented by some of his fool friends. He is not making any boasts that he can upset the French government, or that he has more influence with the British people than the British government itself can wield.

As the situation becomes more distinct it is evident that hopes for an immediate peace or hopes for an ideal league of nations must be abandoned. Both cannot be had within the next few months. The world will be lucky, indeed, if it secures a state of peace in Germany and Russia within the next year or two. By devoting their attention strictly to measures for securing peace the allies may be fortunate enough to forestall a bad relapse from the convalescence that seemed to be in progress, but they need not expect to see any improvement if they set aside realities and take up the project of a league of nations in the ideal form that is usually outlined.

Germany made "peace" with Russia. Where is that peace now? The allies have torn the treaty of Brest-Litovsk into shreds, or they think they have. And yet German agents are operating in Russia, organizing the Russians into military forces and arming them with German rifles. The bolsheviki are increasing in numbers and will surely destroy the Czecho-Slovak army unless the allies send reinforcements. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk is in force, notwithstanding the terms of the armistice of Senlis. Germany controls Russia, and Russia is becoming more dangerous to the peace of Europe every day.

Evidently something more than an armistice is necessary—something more than one of Germany's promises. What is it? What can

it be but the application of brute force, in the shape of the allied armies, compelling the Germans to do the allies' will? There is much to be done by the allied armies before the allied governments can frame a peace treaty that will be worth the paper it is written upon.

When Russia became unable to make war she became unable to make peace. The "peace" with Germany was nothing but the taking over of Russia by Germany. Now Germany is unable to make war against the allies, and she cannot make peace at once, either. At any rate, the German people must pass through a season of turmoil and irresponsibility before they can evolve a government capable of making engagements and tangible enough to be held responsible for keeping the kind of peace which the allies will impose. During this interim there can be no certain peace between the German people and other peoples, because there is no one to contract for the German people. There will be only a form of order, not peace, established in Germany by the allied armies. How long will this interim last? No one can answer that question. It has lasted nearly two years in Russia. Some enthusiasts think it will last only a few days in Germany, but they bring nothing to give warrant for their optimism. On the contrary, conditions in Germany are more confused than ever, and history testifies that revolutions grow worse before they grow better.

Russia must be made safe. Do the allies imagine that they can command the waves to be still merely by signing a piece of paper? Either Russia must be stabilized or Europe must remain unstabilized. The Germans must be thrown out of Russia, and their hold upon that country must be broken. That is one of the preliminaries to a league of nations, for the allies cannot be so insane as to attempt to organize a league of nations while one of their number is a raving maniac, in charge of a murderer who is himself rapidly developing insanity.

Shackle the murderer. Put the maniac in a safe condition. Establish order. Extricate the world from its imminent dangers. Then there will be some safety and some calmness in which to discuss ideal projects for abolishing war.

*Monday, December 23, 1918*

## No Supersovereign Wanted

EUROPE will do well to heed the warning that has gone from the United States Senate, and particularly from the lips of Senators Lodge and Knox. Americans are delighted with the welcome that has been accorded to President Wilson, and deeply appreciate the warm feeling that inspires that welcome. Nevertheless, Americans do not unanimously indorse certain projects that President Wilson seems to be trying to accomplish in Europe. If necessary the people will reject and repudiate any arrangement that attempts to make the United States a member of a league of nations sovereign over the United States. The United States will not acknowledge any sovereign except its own people. The fact should be thoroughly understood in Europe.

The United States Senate will reject any treaty that subordinates the free sovereign will of the United States to any league of nations.

Probably there will be no occasion for the rejection of such a treaty, for it is difficult to imagine that Great Britain or France would become members of any league that assumed sovereignty over them. Each of the great nations of the earth will retain its own independence and complete sovereignty.

It is well that the peoples of France and England should know that the people of the United States stand with them in opposing any proposition which threatens to destroy their sovereign will within their respective countries.

The necessary result of this fixed opposition will be the abandonment of the idea of an all-sovereign league of nations, and either the creation of an ineffective league or no league at all. The latter course would be preferable.

It is a condition and not a theory that confronts the world. The duty of the victorious nations is to abolish the present war, before indulging in schemes to abolish all future wars.

If the enemy should work with really diabolical cunning, he could not invent a plan more surely calculated to divide the allies and frustrate their efforts to fasten the shackles of retributive peace on Germany than to propose that the allies should first sit down and try to elaborate and agree upon an ideal league of nations empowered to abolish war.



The former Emperor of Russia in 1898 proposed that the nations should meet and try to agree upon the reduction of armaments. They met at The Hague and worked faithfully for many months. They failed. Several years later they met again and renewed their efforts. Again they failed. The force and virtue of a true compact to abolish war were all extracted from the spineless and toothless conventions that were finally signed. And it was not Germany only that baffled the desire to abolish war. Other nations were stumbling blocks, notably the United States, which reserved certain sovereign rights, including the right to enforce the Monroe doctrine.

The peace conferences at The Hague were held at a time of universal peace, when the passions of nations were laid. If the nations could not then in calmness agree upon a program of reduction of armaments, how can it be expected that they will now agree, even after prolonged conference? No nation dares to strip itself of arms. The only safety for the civilized nations lies in forcibly stripping Germany of her arms and her means of arming. That is the first and most direct road to universal peace. If the allies cannot do that much, they need not bother about framing a scheme of universal peace, for they will never accomplish the great if they cannot accomplish the small.

There is dire necessity for early peace in Europe. The lives of millions depend upon early resumption of labor that will produce food. In the limits of the German empire are enormous stores of plunder that belongs to Belgians, Frenchmen, Serbians, Roumanians, Italians and Russians. These individuals and communities are suffering because they have been deprived of the means of livelihood. The allied armies are the only power that can go in, search out, seize upon and restore these masses of stolen goods. One of the first tasks before the peace conference is, not the creation of an ideal world-policing league of nations, but the effectual recovery of stolen property. The thieving Germans must be made to disgorge.

The allies must restore order. It is idle to talk of peace while two nations like Russia and Germany are holding ghost dances of bolshevism. Under the spell of this mania, either country or both may run amuck and precipitate new wars. The allied armies must hold the whip hand over both countries until their peoples can evolve stable governments.

*Tuesday, December 24, 1918*

### Fourteen Sea Points

THE project of a league of nations is so comprehensive and it involves so many questions that it is impossible in brief space to do more than touch upon superficial aspects of the subject. President Wilson has not done more than that. Few writers have gone into the subject thoroughly, and indeed they have difficulty in doing so, because of the protean nature of the project and the immovable obstacles which stand in the way of almost any form of league that would be really effective if created.

The freedom of the seas has been suggested as a great objective, which could only be reached by means of a league of nations. Who knows what "freedom of the seas" means? Apparently it means one thing to the Germans and another to the British nation, and still another to Americans. But assuming that this loose term is really intended to cover a set of reforms whereby the "square deal" would be insured during war, a few ideas may be set forth as possibly coming within the scope of the desired reform. Let them be called the fourteen sea points.

1. Abolish former requirements as to effectiveness of blockade. The present war has abolished them in fact.
2. Retain the belligerent right of visit and search. That is a right which the United States would not wish to relinquish.
3. Abolish all lists of contraband of war. The present war has shown that everything is contraband.
4. Make good prize everything bound to or from enemy ports—ships, cargoes, personnel and mails. This is a corollary of the rule abolishing contraband lists.
5. Everything in neutral ships, bound from neutral ports to neutral ports, to be free. It must be subject to visit and search, but may not be seized if neutral in character and neutral bound.
6. Neutral trading with the enemy on shore to be a cause of war. There is no possibility of blockading such traffic, or capturing it. But a belligerent should be justified in making war on a neutral that trades with his enemy.
7. Neutral sea trading with the enemy not to be a cause of war, because such traffic is subject to rule 4.
8. Extend the territorial waters to a distance of 20 sea miles

off the open coast. The "three-mile limit" is an absurdity with modern guns and submarines.

9. Where national boundaries occur on straits and bays less than 40 sea miles across, let the boundary lie in mid-strait, not in deepest water.

10. Captors must provide for the safety of personnel after surrender. This must apply to combatants and noncombatants.

11. Questions of taking captured personnel aboard a warship as a safety measure to be determined. The taking of personnel aboard a German submarine continuing its raids was anything but a true safety measure.

12. Make it an act of piracy for a submarine to enter and pass submerged under the waters of any nation neutral in war or foreign to the submarine in time of peace. The extreme danger of such unseen entry and passage and the impossibility of protecting commerce require absolute prohibition of submerged trespass under penalty of death.

13. All armed ships to be combatant ships.

14. All hospital and Red Cross ships to be free from attack under all circumstances.

There is an example of what might be deemed by many shipmasters as a fair set of rules insuring the freedom of the seas. These rules are fair to belligerents, and they are also fair to neutrals. The United States, during the world war, has been both a neutral and a belligerent, and therefore it has reason to beware of any commitment which would unduly or unfairly restrict its liberty of action on the sea in either character.

There is no restriction in these fourteen points against the legitimate use of sea power in war by any nation. There is, however, an enlargement, or rather a clarification, of the rights of neutrals to carry on innocent trade in spite of a state of war. That is a step toward real freedom of the seas. During the present war neutrals have undoubtedly had their sea freedom curtailed by the belligerents in matters not even remotely connected with the war.

Will these rules be adopted? Probably not. It is not judicious to indulge in the hope of an early agreement by the nations on such subjects. The maritime nations met in London some years ago and drew up a declaration of sea rules, but many of these rules were brushed aside at the very beginning of this war. With nations, as with individuals, survival is the first necessity.



*Wednesday, December 25, 1918*

## The Day of Peace

CHRISTMAS! The morning of the nativity of the Prince of Peace! What a world, what a sorry world, is that which swings this day under the mild eye of the Saviour! If He were to judge by appearances, as men do, He would hardly deem this world worthy of all the love and sacrifice which He lavished upon it. To mankind the progress toward universal goodness seems interminably long and the path more thorny than ever. It is true that men have ceased for the main part to clutch at one another's throats, and the rivers of blood have dwindled to rivulets, but the world is full of unrest and rumors of new broils. The nations are trying to meet and agree upon peace for a long season and if possible for ever. In this splendid hope they find the path beset with discouragements and pitfalls, caused by the weakness and wickedness of men. The statesmen of longest vision and stoutest hearts are beginning to suggest that if the nations take but one small step forward, one substantial step, they will have accomplished all that can be hoped for at this time.

That is as far as man can see. But what does divinity see ahead of mankind? It must be that humanity is on the right road, after all! Mankind is marching forward, too, although slowly and painfully. The four Christmas days preceding this were red with bloody fires over the earth, and armies of men were gashing one another to death. The earth was a charnel house. The spirit of Antichrist seemed to have secured the upper hand. Brute force strode from conquest to conquest over justice and right. It seemed that the ancient standards had gone down to dust. More than one puzzled brain was deluded into thinking that truth was no more. Sometimes fainting hearts wondered if it were worth while to stick to honor and faith, since fraud and treason seemed to flourish while the old virtues failed to save men from suffering and death.

But on this Christmas day, thank God! there is a revival of faith, as well as of hope and charity. Humanity now knows that the gods of evil and brute force are tumbled off their clay pedestals and smashed to bits in the midst of their worshipers. The Lord God of our fathers reigns, and by His right hand sits the Prince of Peace. Out of the night of war shines the new star that is leading humanity

by swarms of nations to a new and broad road, where there will be less stumbling and fewer robbers.

The chastened world now tries to make peace. It will succeed! It hopes for justice. It will not hope in vain! The appalling dangers that hung over the world for four years stupefied men at first, and then drove into their souls the knowledge that unless they should arise and defend liberty by first defeating and then slaying its assailant, they and their children would perish. They arose, nobly and by millions on both sides of the ocean. They defeated the assailant of liberty. They are now about to slay it.

Who dares to hold their hand? Who can say with truth, in the sight of God, that mankind can safely forget and forgive the murderers? Is liberty safe while its slayer lives? Can humanity run the risk of another assault, or must it, to save its own life, slay its assailant? Where stand justice and mercy, if not on the side of the victim peoples? Mankind will arraign justice itself hereafter, if it does not now dispatch and annihilate the power that attacked the peaceful peoples of the world.

The love of peace is in all hearts and tender memories incline the soul to mercy, forgiveness and forgetfulness. Nevertheless, the righteousness that exalteth a nation will not permit free men to turn the slayers loose. There must be justice and retribution, full punishment of the evil ones, restoration by the thief and expiation by the murderer before the work of peace will be secure. The God of Righteousness does not ask His believers to take evil to their bosoms.

*Thursday, December 26, 1918*

## The Nation Supreme

**B**OLSHEVISTS who are honest in their belief are in favor of a world community or internationalism which shall be paramount to all nations. They do not specifically demand a superleague of nations, but they should favor such a league, as it is a step toward the universal proletarianism which they fondly believe would cure human ills. The bolsheviki are against nations as at present constituted; and the advocates of a sovereign league of nations are also dissatisfied with nations as at present constituted. Both bolsheviki and proleaguers are trying to find a method of forcing nations to obey a will higher than the sovereign will of each state.

Is that what Americans want?

Diligent inquiry has failed to disclose any action or utterance by the American people or upon their authority which would permit any one to assume that Americans are dissatisfied with their government and are trying to find a plan which will evolve a universal sovereign superior to the United States and capable of compelling the United States to obey its will within a certain sphere.

Inquiry fails to reveal any growth of bolshevism in the United States which could be regarded as anything more than a neighborhood outburst of mingled folly and sedition. There is no national movement toward bolshevism. On the contrary, wherever the people's will could be ascertained on a respectable scale, there has been manifested a readiness to attack and destroy bolshevism, and an equal impatience with any scheme which would impair the sovereignty and independence of the United States.

No "internationalism" is wanted by the American people, so far as their will can be ascertained, except the mutual and voluntary association of free nations temporarily acting together for the protection of liberty and civilization.

Whenever any proposal is made to create an international tribunal which would have jurisdiction over the Monroe doctrine, the American people kick and will not have it.

Whenever socialists and bolshevists propose to substitute an international system for the United States government, the police are usually required to protect the utterers of such doctrines. It is



noticeable that soldiers and sailors returned from the war zone are the first to attack the would-be destroyers of the government.

Whenever the concrete suggestion is made that there should be a "world police force," with power to compel the United States to desist from any course which it might desire to take in defending its rights, its independence, or its honor, there is an immediate protest from Maine to California.

Efforts have been made to commit the United States to the principle of a league of nations empowered to enforce peace, and these efforts have failed. It is evident that the Senate will not approve of such a project, even in principle. The country will not agree to any project which requires the United States to surrender any of its sovereign will or freedom of action.

But, say the advocates of a league of nations, the States of this Union yielded certain sovereign powers for the sake of creating a strong general government, and they are all benefited by the arrangement. Why should not the nations combine in one union, as the States did?

The answer is that the people of the States were one homogeneous people, held together by common origin, language, experience and danger. They were the antithesis of the heterogeneous peoples of the world's nations, who are separated by differences of race, color, origin, language, experience and environment. The Americans joined together because they had common interests. The nations cannot join together in the United States of the World because they have conflicting and irreconcilable interests.

If the present war has not taught mankind that there are cleavages between certain peoples which never can be welded together, it has taught them nothing. Gloss the subject as you will, with all the eloquence and idealism that the mind can conceive, and the fact remains that the people of the United States are firmly resolved to hold their destiny in their own hands. They will not admit any other nation or people to a partnership in deciding the questions that affect the honor and existence of their country. The Nation, under the Almighty, is to them the ark of safety and the last resort in time of trouble.

*Saturday, December 28, 1918*

## Abolish the German Empire

NO ONE has failed to note that President Wilson has consistently refrained from alluding to the United States as an ally of the nations at war against Germany. He has recognized the existence of the working arrangement by speaking of the association of the United States with the allies in prosecuting the war. Although the United States as a matter of fact was and is an ally of the nations that were attacked by Germany, the alliance is not formal, and is not prescribed in any treaty or protocol.

The President is right in refraining from the use of words which would convey the idea that the United States is a member of an alliance or league of nations. This nation, in prosecuting war, can coöperate with other nations, even to the extent of giving its last dollar and its last drop of blood, and the association is for all fighting purposes an alliance; but it is quite another thing to enter into a written agreement by which other nations would share the power of determining the extent to which the United States should go in making war or preparing for war, protecting weaker nations, patrolling the seas, suppressing revolutions, guarding natural gateways, or otherwise fulfilling its duties as a member of an alliance or league. That is a power which the United States government cannot agree to share with any other nation or group of nations. The only authority which could make such an agreement is the people of the United States, who have set up a government that is in itself unable to transfer any of its powers or any of the national sovereignty to any other nation or league of nations.

Taking the situation as it exists, and not as it might exist, and it must be admitted that the only agency that threatens the world's peace is the alliance heretofore called the German empire. That was an alliance or league composed of the Prussian, Bavarian, Saxon and other nations, organized into a close union called the German empire. The union was framed for the purpose of making aggressive war. The allied German nations agreed to surrender their sovereignty and many state and individual liberties whenever the war lord should decide to make war. It is simply a league to enforce war.

This alliance was so successful that it dominated Europe and was on the road to world domination when it was defeated by another league composed of the allies and the United States. Now, if there



is any necessity for a league of nations, it is to prevent the formation of another league or empire by the German nations, the only nations that combine to make predatory war. The present entente, in short, should declare the German empire forever abolished and should prohibit the formation of another alliance, league or empire by the German nations. Let the Bavarians, Prussians and the rest form their boundaries as they please, according to tribes; but if they should attempt to band together, they should be dispersed and punished. It will be said, "Why should the powers deny to Germany the right to form a federation of states, which is not denied to the British empire, the United States or other free nations?" The answer is that Germany had the right and exercised it murderously against the world, and thereby forfeited the right. One deliberate and desperate attempt to use this system as a means of conquering the world is sufficient reason for denying to the German tribes any further opportunity to band together.

The United States need not join any world league of nations to prove its devotion to universal peace and justice. All it need do is to subscribe to the declaration of the European allies exterminating the German empire and prohibiting any alliance among the German nations. If the Germans should defy this declaration, the United States would be expected to join in squelching them, and it would doubtless be glad to do its share. Beyond that point the United States would not be embroiled in European affairs. There would be no further work for a league to enforce peace, for no nation or league other than the German is or has been intent upon breaking the peace.

Of course, the German nations must be excluded from present entente and from any league that might be formed, as the object of the alliance is to keep the Germans in bounds. If the Germans should be admitted into the alliance, they would vote on all measures taken for their own control—an utter absurdity. Moreover, they would be informed of all the workings of the league and would make war whenever ready, with complete disregard of their obligations. Thus the league formed to enforce peace would be turned into a method of facilitating another German assault upon the world.

Strait-jacket Germany and the Germans. Smash the German empire and keep the German nations separate. Punish any would-be Bismarck who should try to form another alliance of the German tribes. Give back to the owners the territories stolen by the Germans, and then it will be found that the German peril has disappeared. France will then be the strongest power in Europe. That will mean peace.



*Sunday, December 29, 1918*

## The Nature of a World League

MORE than one American has asked himself, "If President Wilson hesitates to admit that the United States is as a matter of fact an ally of the nations fighting Germany, how can he be so eager to enter into a league of nations that would bind the United States to a foreign will, superior to and sovereign over the United States government?"

Some of President Wilson's friends deny that he favors a league of nations empowered to enforce peace by being armed with an army and navy; that he has no idea of asking the nations to contribute a share of their sovereignty to a common pool, to be called a league of nations; that he is demanding nothing more than a league which will express the moral force of the nations, not backed by their physical force. Mr. Wilson's speech at the banquet at Buckingham palace seemed to verify this statement of his position, for he suggested nothing more than the organization of the "moral force of the world," to make the peace settlements permanent.

Of course, nobody in the world can enter any objection to the creation of a league of nations which is empowered merely to express the pious wish that nations shall not engage in war any more.

But Mr. Wilson went further yesterday in his Guildhall speech and said: "There must now be not a balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set up against another, but a single, overwhelming, powerful group of nations who shall be the trustees of the peace of the world."

These words, in their ordinary meaning, compel the mind to assume that the "trustees" shall be empowered to act. If the trustees are to preserve the peace of the world, they must be able to interpose force against force. The blood is not dry on the ground where millions of men have marched to the whim of a despot who paid no attention whatever to the "moral force of the world." If the President's language means simply that the "single, overwhelming powerful group of nations" should exercise moral force, not physical force, then it is a futile dream of insuring the world's peace—a dream that has just been proved to be baseless by German brute force.

It is with profound regret that thoughtful Americans are seeing the inevitable embarrassment and failure that lie ahead of President

#### THE NATURE OF A WORLD LEAGUE

Wilson in his effort to work out a league of nations that will neither resort to force itself nor fail to prevent warlike nations from using force. All Americans support the President, to a man, in the desire to abolish war, and to make such peace settlements at this time as will preserve peace with justice. But a rapidly growing number of Americans perceive that it would be unwise, even if it were easy or possible, for the United States to compromise its complete freedom of action by joining a league of nations empowered to call upon its members for troops, ships and munitions of war to suppress a war begun by some recalcitrant nation. That power is nothing less than the power to declare war, which is committed to Congress, and which Congress cannot transfer to any league of nations, by treaty or otherwise.

The feeling of Americans who fail to become enthusiastic over the idea of a league of nations is that the nations may utter any kind of moral resolutions without affecting in the slightest degree the war aims of a barbarous power like Germany; that the longer the nations rely upon moral force only, the greater will be the advantage gained by the aggressor; that the only effective league of nations to prevent war would be a league armed and empowered to destroy any nation making war, and that the United States is not capable of joining such a league.

Other nations can join an armed league of nations if they please, and apparently it would be a good plan for Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Russia and other nations to form such a league. The fact that the United States must and will retain its complete sovereignty and freedom of action causes many Americans to regret that President Wilson should assume the leadership in a movement which, if it materializes at all, will not include the United States.

*Tuesday, December 31, 1918*

1918

THE most somber and glorious year in the latter history of mankind will die tonight. God speed it into the past! For its days were loaded with sorrow and horror, and its nights were filled with weeping. At the end its gloomy storms were broken by a sudden glorious light, in which grappling armies stood staring and transfixed, and lowered their reeking arms. An empire of blood and iron crumbled and fell, while nations in oppression felt their hearts bound within them in response to the long-awaited call of liberty.

Decisions of critical importance to humanity for future ages were made during 1918—many of them. The year is packed full of memorable events. One or two dates, however, stand out beyond the others as real turning points in the history of mankind. One of these was March 21, when the German emperor assumed command in person of the mightiest armed force ever assembled and hurled it against the breasts of France and England, in a resolve to break down once for all the free spirit that stood in his path and denied his right to be overlord of the world.

Dramatists and painters of the future will kindle their imaginations on this event. They will see in their mind's eye the last of the Hohenzollerns at the peak of evil glory, destroyer of a dozen feeble states, mutilator of France, assassin of Russia, and worshiped by his frenzied people as a war lord destined to deliver to them the riches of the whole earth. This sinister figure of Hohenzollern will furnish the theme for many a tragedy and many a picture. He was so great, and he became so little! He endangered the universe and then he fled from the gaze of men! He was so audacious in his blasphemy and his defiance of God's will; yet he was so contemptible in his cowardice, so squalid of spirit when adversity tested his mettle! His empire, too, was such a paradox, with its industrious and home-loving people turned fiends at the prospect of spoiling their neighbors. His army was never equaled for system and precision, yet it fell to pieces when it met its equal in numbers and fled for its life. His navy was built up with vigor and skill, and its officers and men were good sailors; yet they dared not fight in the open; and when sea murder failed them, they ingloriously filed out into the sea and gave themselves up to their superiors.



What marvelous pictures arise before the mind in contemplating the changes that befell the German empire in 1918! In January it sprawled over Europe, its vast bulk overshadowing the center of civilization. It drained the strength of Europe and Asia, growing stronger by feeding upon the life of succumbing peoples, until in March it seemed that nothing but its own delay stood in the way of its conquest of Europe. Its enemies were rising up against it, particularly the United States of America, but there seemed to be time and opportunity in which to strike a deathblow to France and England. After that what was to be feared from America? The dollar worshipers could be bought off by giving them Canada or some of the other remnants of Germany's victims. Then the world would be at the feet of Germany, and no king or emperor under the firmament would take an important step without humbly obtaining permission from the overlord at Potsdam. The German people would control the commerce of the whole earth, and thereby would pile up riches beyond the cloudy dreams of desire.

Against the steel and flame and gas that operated on a colossal scale to effect the will of the dominant German empire there were arrayed the dwindling human walls of liberty. France stood dying but unconquerable, and England stood by her side, bloody but unbowed. The blow was struck. The living wall swayed. The German millions pressed with frantic energy to make the dazzling barbaric dream come true. Man's free soul would not have it so. The unseen spirit of liberty sustained every son of France and England until help came. The Americans appeared. They eagerly fought to fight. Their fresh vigor was new life to the hard-pressed French and British forces. All rallied together, with wonderful new zeal, under a marshal endowed with marvelous foresight and skill. From the moment of the rally the German empire and all its murderous gains were canceled, annulled and made nothing. The process of annihilation went forward like the march of the hangman to the doomed one's cell. The German people instinctively felt that their master had met his master. The false pride fell from them, and they groveled at the feet of the French and British and American soldiers.

What is to come is another chapter, which will be told in its turn. The book of 1919 will be crowded, without doubt. But there will be no page or chapter so luminous, no recital so inspiring, as that which is contained in the book of 1918, where posterity will read of the hours and days when Liberty came down to earth and marched with her sons to victory!

*Monday, January 13, 1919*

## The Enemy of All Nations

THE French government announces that it has rejected a proposition made on January 5 through the British embassy, suggesting that the governments of France, Italy, Japan and the United States invite the various Russian factions and so-called governments, including the bolsheviki, to "cease hostilities, violence and reprisals, and establish peace both among each other and with the neighboring states. This truce would be requested for the duration of the peace conference, one of the ends of which is to reestablish peace in Russia and the neighboring countries and bring the desired succor to the suffering populations." The proposition also included the suggestion that all the Russian factions, including the bolsheviki, be permitted to send delegations to the peace conference. The rejection of the proposal by the French government is stated by M. Pichon, foreign minister, to be based upon the ground that the bolsheviki are criminals and anarchists, opposed to all right and all government.

Although the proposition was evidently made with the best of intentions, in the hope that an all-inclusive participation in the peace conferences by Russian factions would lead to peace, there is no doubt that public opinion in America will sustain the action of the French government in refusing to have any dealings with the bolsheviki. It would be a grave mistake to recognize the bolshevik representatives in any capacity. Their admission as delegates to the peace conference would dignify the assassins and anarchists, and would give their supporters throughout the world some ground for asserting that the civilized governments had been intimidated into dealing with them.

No doubt the British government, in forwarding the proposal, hoped that some kind of peace might be patched up with the bolsheviki. But that is an idle dream. The essence of bolshevism is opposition to established government. How can there be peace between the murderer and his victim? Such spokesmen of bolshevism as Lenine and Trotzky have repeatedly said that there could be no compromise between nations as now constituted and bolshevism, which seeks to create a new social order based on internationalism.

In all his efforts Lenine has aimed at the undermining and overthrowing of nations. His propaganda has been carried on in Sweden,

Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Spain, France, Italy and England. It is now introduced into the United States. Lenine asserts that Russia, no matter how thoroughly bolshevized it might be, could not exist alongside of "capitalistic" nations. His ideal international society can exist only by the extermination of nations as now organized. Therefore he attempts to destroy existing governments. Logically, it would be just as wise for the allies to ask for a parley with the bolsheviki at Moscow, with a view to the early abandonment of existing forms of government and the universal adoption of bolshevism, as for the allies to invite the bolsheviki to participate in the peace conference at Paris. One is no more preposterous than the other.

France's alternative is war against bolshevism, by military force if practicable. Probably it will come to that in Europe, if the allies do not go out to throttle bolshevism before it spreads over Europe. It would be easier now to kill off bolshevism in Russia, stupendous as the task appears to be, than to fight bolshevism after it has taken over Russia, Germany and perhaps other countries.

The nations should face this new peril bravely, and attack it immediately, without thought of giving it quarter. In the future there may be a good and acceptable substitute for nations, but this war has shown that the spirit of patriotism is regarded by mankind generally as practically identical with the spirit of liberty. Therefore it is relied upon as the ultimate source of power and authority. It has just put down a terrible foe. It can put down the other. The love which every man bears for his country is sufficient to save the world from chaos. Let the issue be clearly recognized, and let the forces of civilization go forward cheerfully to victory.



*Saturday, January 18, 1919*

## The Great Struggle Begins

**T**ODAY the nations which successfully defended the world against the attacks of Germany and her accomplices will begin conferences intended to define and fix the terms to be imposed upon the defeated nations. The conference will not be open to representatives of the enemy nations, as the allies do not yet know what terms they will agree upon. There are questions of importance to each of them which must be considered in the broadest and most conciliatory spirit if harmony is to be preserved. The very essence of the coming peace is agreement among the allies. It may almost be said, "No agreement, no peace." Certainly without agreement there will not be a satisfactory or reliable peace. The allied conference, without agreement, will more readily breed war than peace.

The supreme council, consisting of the President of the United States, the premiers of the allied nations and the two representatives of Japan, have charted the course for the peace conference. The general character of the conference and the scope of its operations have been defined. With indispensable reticence the supreme council has kept from the world for the time being the plans which the allied governments have in mind. These plans must be discussed and agreed to by all the allied governments before they can be regarded as decisive. When agreed upon they will probably be quite different in detail from their present rough outlines.

It is one thing to resolve upon the creation of a government, for example, and another thing to shape its nature and powers. This was exhibited in the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. There were all kinds of controversial proposals in that convention, any one of which, if published broadcast, would have inflamed the people. The delegates wisely kept the tentative proposals to themselves. Their finished work was acceptable. Their work when half finished was so objectionable as to have justified civil war if the people had been convinced that the Constitution was to take the shape it then possessed.

The necessity for moderation in speech, generous sympathy in feeling and conciliation in spirit during the course of the peace conferences is so apparent that the delegates must realize most keenly their tremendous responsibilities. An intractable and unyielding spirit is extremely dangerous at this time in any delegate, not only to the

welfare of his own cause but to the welfare of the world. What would be the folly of the peace conference, for example, if it should not reconcile the differences between Italy and the south Slav peoples concerning Dalmatia? That is a dispute that is susceptible of adjustment; an honest difference of opinion now, which, if not adjusted, will surely be an honest justification for war tomorrow. The mind recoils from the spectacle of two brave nations, still bleeding from the wounds they received while fighting as comrades against the evil powers, suddenly turning to rend each other. Humanity may despair of reaching any place of safety in this world if two allied nations are to be permitted to leave the peace conference and take up arms against each other, with all kinds of possible entanglements affecting other nations that desire to remain friendly and at peace.

Italy can well afford to continue her generous policy toward the south Slavs, who can build up a friendly nation if now befriended. And the Serbs would do well to restrain their speech and rely upon the justice of the civilized nations in adjusting the Adriatic question. It is foolish for both Italy and Serbia to announce that their stand is irrevocable and that their claims are not susceptible of compromise. No question of honor is involved, nor even any question of vital interest. Each nation could survive and flourish if utterly deprived of all that it now claims against the other. Each seems to be claiming somewhat more than it is strictly entitled to, as impartial witnesses believe. Surely there is room for accommodation of both nations, and they are bound by the most solemn obligations of honor and true self-interest to reach an agreement. They would injure themselves in the eyes of the world and in their relations with their neighbors far more than they would gain by refusing to adjust their differences.

The Adriatic question is only one among the many problems of the peace conference. The absolute necessity for exercising a conciliatory spirit rests upon the United States just as much as upon Italy and Serbia. If it should appear that discussions of an ideal league of nations threaten to stretch out to a dangerous degree, imperiling the recuperative strength of France, Belgium, Serbia, Roumania and the other nations that must have peace and restoration without delay, then it will be the duty of the American delegates to yield for the common good.

The nations are now to begin their greatest struggle—their struggle with the weaknesses and selfishness of human nature. May the delegates be clear-sighted and exalted of purpose; but, above all, may they be conciliatory and generous in spirit!



*Wednesday, January 22, 1919*

## The Nation Slayers

THE intimation that the supreme council of the allies is about to reach a decision regarding Russia is news of the greatest importance to the entire world. It is the most satisfactory assurance yet given that the leading powers are actually beginning to take control of the world's most pressing problems, and are not merely exchanging courtesies.

So overwhelmingly have the bolsheviki proved the case against themselves that the allies are no longer justified for delaying to act. The evidence of deliberate intent to assassinate organized free governments is so clear, and the crimes of the bolsheviki in trying to spread their abominable doctrines are so atrocious, that they long ago forfeited the right to exist. The extermination of the bolsheviki is a necessity of life to free men and free nations. The bolsheviki brag of freedom and denounce existing governments as bearing down upon the workers and the poor, but wherever the bolsheviki have gained power they have robbed the poor, swindled the workers, deprived all classes of their liberty, destroyed order, debauched the public service and denied to every one any protection to property, family, business, home or life. No more diabolical perversion of liberty was ever conceived than that which is now killing Russia.

Various plans have been put forward for the consideration of the allied powers in dealing with the bolsheviki. These plans range from surrender to the Russian reds to a war of extermination against them. One suggestion was that all the Russian factions should be invited to patch up a temporary truce and to send representatives to the peace conference at Paris. Obviously this was an impracticable plan, as the bolsheviki plainly announce that their system cannot exist except by the death of existing national governments. The bolsheviki, therefore, cannot share in any deliberations looking to a compromise peace in Russia, nor can existing nations enter into a conference with the bolsheviki except as victors or vanquished.

Another plan contemplated the erection of a barrier against the sweep of bolshevism westward, by building up Poland, Roumania, Bohemia, the south Slav kingdom and other free nations. That plan is good so far as it goes, but it is inadequate. The allied powers cannot afford to adopt a half-way plan, which attempts to dispose of



the situation by "letting Russia stew in its own juice." There is a world of error and shortsightedness in that phrase. The enlightened statesmen in allied nations know only too well that the world will not be safe until Russia is safe. It is not only for Russia, but for the world, that the allies must and will adopt and execute an adequate plan to stabilize and liberate the Russian nation.

The plan that will accomplish this result is necessarily a bold and comprehensive scheme of offensive action against the bolsheviki, support of buffer states and defensive action in behalf of the Russian people, including relief on a scale far beyond anything yet outlined. The supreme council does not go so far as to announce the adoption of such a plan, but recent events reveal very clearly that this is coming. France's denunciation of the bolsheviki, President Wilson's statement that the friends of liberty must fight to a finish, the stiffening of the armistice terms, the dispatch of the Polish legion from France to Poland, the conclusive testimony of Ambassador Noulens and Minister Scavenius and the evidence of a conspiracy between the German army and the Russian bolsheviki all point one way. The allied powers, however reluctant they may be to enter Russia, will choose to do so rather than face the greater evil of a Germanized Russia and another colossal war.

Much depends upon promptness. The bolsheviki can be beaten better now than later. They are getting some help from Germany, but the allies can put a stop to that now, whereas later, if the situation be neglected, it will be extremely difficult to prevent collusion between the Germans and the betrayers of Russia. Now, while Marshal Foch has his grip on the throat of Germany, while the bolsheviki lack equipment and before they have overrun Poland, now is the time for the allies to act with supreme boldness in Russia. Let them grasp the nettle and crush it. They must do it now or later, if they are to survive.

*Thursday, January 23, 1919*

## The Five Guardians

SEVERAL admissions and revelations from Paris throw light on the pathway that lies directly ahead of the nations. Although the peace conference has not gone beyond the merest preliminaries, the supreme council has considered the situation in its broadest aspects, and on one or two subjects has developed a fairly detailed policy. The nations find themselves compelled to do certain things which they did not wish to do, and other projects which they hoped to dispose of with ease are now found to be bristling with difficulties.

It is now a certainty that formation of the league of nations will not precede consideration of and action upon the actual emergencies in Europe. The relegation of the proposed league of nations to the rear is a decided advance toward orderly and effective settlement of present war problems. Europe has so many practical problems, if it is to escape further war and survive the shock of prostration and famine, that it would be folly for its statesmen to attempt to thrust these problems aside to consider theoretical and ideal international relationships with a view to the abolition of future war. The surest way to prevent future wars is to deal effectively with the problems of the present war; that is, to punish the guilty, extricate the maimed and dying nations, help the newborn nations and put such handcuffs and straight-jackets upon the Huns that they cannot by any craft or force make war again. Isn't that a sufficiently large program, without attempting to bring England, America, France and the rest into an agreement to cut down armaments, organize an international police court, submit their grievances to outsiders and otherwise yield their right to decide for themselves what to do for their own defense?

The rescue of Russia is now admitted to be a condition precedent to the formation of a league of nations. Good! That admission is evidence of progress, as it is putting facts in their proper order. Russia in anarchy means Russia a prey to the Huns, and that in turn means another tremendous war as soon as the Huns have completed their preparations. It must always be remembered that Russia is economically Germanized already. The business language is German, the money dealings are German and the banks are controlled by Germans. The 5,000,000 Germans in Russia dominate the business and financial life of the country. There is little doubt that the Germans in

Russia could put a stop to bolshevism in a month if it suited their plans to cut off financial and other support. But their plans call for the demoralization of Russia and the subjection of the entire nation to the Germans. So the caldron must boil up its hell-broth until Russians with property are robbed and Russians with intelligence and patriotism are killed. Then the Germans will easily take care of the bolshevik riffraff by sending in a few divisions of troops with machine guns. That is what the allies should do now, in the opinion of the most reliable and best informed representatives of the allies in Russia. The allies should take Petrograd and Moscow, possession of which gives the bolshevik leaders great prestige with the Russian people. The expulsion of the bolsheviks from these capitals would be comparatively easy, and as a strategic move would be worth more than the holding of Siberia.

The supreme peace council finds itself compelled to retain a strong grasp on Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. The enemy is the enemy still, under all the pretenses of reorganization, democratization and demobilization. The Germans count upon cheating the Poles out of that part of Poland which was stolen by Germany. The Austrians are trying to hold Galicia. The Magyars are relinquishing Roumania's territory only on threat of death. The Magyars are pleading a fraudulent armistice which they induced Gen. Franchet d'Esperey to sign, which gave a band of alleged "revolutionists" among the Magyars a color of authority over territory belonging to the Czecho-Slovaks, the Roumanians and Jugoslavs. This arrangement has been annulled, of course, by the allied powers. It discloses, however, how tireless and how treacherous the enemy is in his efforts to make the allied victory nothing but ashes.

Grim necessity is teaching the great allies that they are already a league of nations, bound to control the world for the time being, whether or not they relish the task. They must control the enemy, and they must control the smaller nations, and they must control the neutrals. Out of the universal tumult and disorder the five great nations—America, Britain, France, Italy and Japan—must bring order by the compelling force that lies behind their expressed will. If these five nations cannot now agree, under the urgency of present dangers, then there need be no thought wasted on the idea that 50 nations hereafter will agree. The test of the world's civilization is now being made, without waiting for the formation of a league of nations.



*Thursday, January 30, 1919*

## No Substitute for Free Nations

**B**EATEN down by facts and the reasoning that is based upon them, President Wilson is retiring as gracefully as possible from his untenable position on the question of the league of nations. The supreme peace council is helping him to "save his face" by outlining a so-called league of nations, which is as different from his original proposal as day is from night. The league as now agreed upon will be nothing more than an international association, without power. Sovereign nations like the United States will remain sovereign, determining for themselves, absolutely without interference, upon such course of action at any time as seems best to them. The world is merely to have another advisory, statistical, rhetorical headquarters. President Wilson's original league of nations, the United States of the World, armed with military and naval power, and bound to suppress any nation that should dare to disturb the world's peace, has gone glimmering into the shadows of Never-Never land.

It is well. There should not be any league of nations on the original plan. It is in its essence internationalism, destructive of nations, and therefore dangerously resembling bolshevism. In order to live such a league of nations would have had to draw its strength from the nations, and therefore each nation would have been left weaker than before. No nation's peculiar problems could have been solved by itself alone, but would have been passed upon also by other nations, perhaps secret enemies.

The hard facts which have wrecked the ideal supernationalism are these: The civilized peoples of Europe have just saved themselves from slavery by the exercise of their strength organized in separate distinct nations. These nations are far from perfect organizations, but they are the best working systems yet devised by man for making his life, liberty and welfare reasonably secure. By grouping themselves in nations, peoples of the same blood and sympathy are able to combine their individual strength in fairly effective coöperation. Autocracy decreed that there should be only one nation; bolshevism decrees that there shall be no nations. The free and civilized peoples beat one of their assailants by sticking to the plan of fighting by nations. The fight with the other assailant is now beginning.

The logical deductions from the foregoing facts are these: Governments organized and maintained by free peoples are effective

barriers against the tyranny of both autocrats and anarchists. Any project which aims at weakening free nations is therefore dangerous, if not fatal, to liberty. A league of nations acting as a substitute for free nations is an experiment. If not powerful, it cannot prevail; and if powerful, it must derive its power from free nations, thereby weakening their individual strength. Free peoples coöperate within a nation, but whether they would coöperate in a universal league of nations is doubtful, for this reason: In a nation all treason is purged, but in a league there may be traitor nations. Racial differences form barriers which are not removed by formal compacts, and different standards of living form economic obstacles which no league can surmount.

Nations must determine their own standards of living according to their ability. In a certain sense every nation is perpetually at war with other nations, with offensive and defensive economic weapons. Since the proposed league of nations was essentially a project to deprive individual nations of these weapons, it was an attack upon them. They resisted the destructive effect of direct attack by autocracy. They are resisting the destructive effect of indirect attack which would disarm them. They will resist the destructive effect of direct attack by bolshevism, or go down in universal anarchy.

In the oncoming war between liberty and anarchy there is no other plan which takes the place of organized nations acting in harmony according to the exigencies of the hour. If civilization is to be saved, it will be saved by free nations, not by a substitute.

*Saturday, February 1, 1919*

## The Power That Rules

IF THE people of the United States had committed their future policy unreservedly to the discretion of the five gentlemen who represent the United States at the peace conference, there would be occasion for profound uneasiness regarding the news that comes from Paris. This news is apparently authentic. It is to the effect that the United States is about to join with other nations in a scheme for the pacification and government for an indefinite time of European, African and oceanic regions that are unable to maintain their own public order and independence. The "league of nations" is to become responsible for the maintenance of order in these backward countries and regions. The United States is to become a full-fledged member of this "league," and therefore it must assume its share of the expense and danger of war that are entailed in this overlordship.

Apparently this plan has progressed to such an extent as to call for the early transfer of American forces to parts of Turkey that must be pacified or patrolled.

The unavoidable consequences of such a commitment are so fraught with peril to the United States and the western hemisphere that it is impossible to believe fully in the authenticity of the reports from Paris. We do not place our estimate of the Americanism and the discretion of the five delegates on the plane which is indicated by these reports.

Nevertheless, if it should be true that the American delegates have agreed to a plan which would pledge the United States to indefinite participation in the quarrels and wars of Europe, Africa and the ocean islands, it is most comforting to know that there is a power that will sweep away all engagements made by these delegates and utterly remove and destroy every attempt to involve this nation.

That power is the will of the people.

The American people have not authorized any man or set of men to commit this nation to the policy described. There is no reason whatever for assuming that the people have changed their will regarding the fundamental policies of the government. On the contrary, there is the strongest of reasons for believing that the people stand on the solid rock foundation laid by the fathers of the republic. This strong reason is that the people have just fought a war to main-



tain the government and its rights unimpaired, exactly as it was established. Who says the American people failed to understand the danger that threatened their liberties? Who has reason to think that the United States has decided to put aside its guardianship of free government in this hemisphere to take up the task of maintaining order throughout the world?

The President of the United States, whoever he may be, will not act contrary to the will of the people in these fundamental principles, because he cannot. He may propose a new policy, but the people will take the liberty of passing judgment upon his proposal. If it means an abandonment of their safety or their guardianship of the western hemisphere, they will reject his proposal.

The United States Senate will not act contrary to the will of the people in these matters, because it cannot. It can act only within the sphere of its authority. It cannot join the President in amending the Constitution by treaty, no matter how flattering to the self-esteem of America it might be to pose as a leading figure in a league of nations. The people have fixed the metes and bounds of the presidency and the Senate, and beyond those limits they cannot pass.

The Senate, however, can reject a treaty that attempts to change the current of this nation's future if the senators conclude that the treaty is unwise. This right of revision is one of the most important safeguards of American liberty. It will be exercised to the full by the Senate, as a matter of course, when the treaty of peace is laid before it. If the five gentlemen now acting in Paris in behalf of the United States do not faithfully execute the will of the people, the Senate will reject the treaty, whether the governments of the world are pleased or otherwise.

In the midst of the uneasiness—nay, the stupefaction—caused by the reports from Paris, it is well to seek comfort in the thought that nobody in Paris or in Washington will set aside the will of the American people.

*Friday, February 7, 1919*

## America's Policies and Their Makers

A STUDENT of the American character and American history, applying to the present situation all that he had learned which might guide him in forming an opinion as to America's probable attitude, would confidently state this rule:

The United States will never assume responsibility for the government of any region in the eastern hemisphere, nor will it permit its flag to fly permanently over a single foot of territory in Europe, Asia or Africa.

If the Philippines should be cited against this rule, the retort could be made with great force that the Philippines constitute the exception which proves the rule. It would be difficult to find an American who would welcome a repetition of America's experience in transoceanic expansion.

There are men who believe that the spread of republicanism in Europe has taken the heart out of the Monroe doctrine, by making it highly improbable that any combination of European powers will ever again attack the system of popular government in this hemisphere.

Yet the world is still panting after the death struggle with a power that attacked popular government, not merely in Europe, but everywhere. But for the strong arm of the United States it is probable that Germany would now be finishing off the British empire, after having trampled down France.

The United States went into the war against Germany for the purpose of saving popular government from destruction. When that purpose has been accomplished the United States will have no further business in Europe. It will withdraw from Europe totally and resume its place as defender of democracy in the western hemisphere.

After their dreadful experience it is not surprising that the nations of Europe gather around Mr. Wilson and beg him to exercise the limitless strength of the United States in behalf of this or that laudable plan for adjusting their differences. They plausibly urge that the safety of democracy cannot be assured without the participation by the United States in European affairs. The disinterestedness of the United States makes this government an ideal authority for the

control of Constantinople, they say. It is also wise, they suggest, that an unselfish power like the United States should look after the unfortunate Armenians and perhaps the Macedonians, Persians and others.

There need be no fear that Mr. Wilson will mislead the European peoples by giving them any assurances which the United States will afterward reject. Mr. Wilson has always made it plain that he is merely the representative of the United States, acting as the servant of the American people.

The declaration of war against the German empire and the similar declaration against Austria-Hungary constitute the only utterance by the United States government which is not subject to revision or rejection by the people. Presidents often outline policies and sometimes outline doctrines which are adopted by the people. If these policies and doctrines are not adopted, however, they have no effect, and any foreign government or people relying upon such utterances might make a great mistake. Mr. Roosevelt, while President, went so far in his anxiety to reassure Japan of America's friendly attitude that he urged the naturalization of Japanese subjects. That is only one of dozens of policies proposed by Presidents which were not approved by Congress and the people.

Only one expression has been obtained from the American people which can be taken as even remotely indicating their attitude toward the general set of policies outlined by President Wilson. That expression was given at the November elections. If it had any bearing at all, it was adverse, for the reason that Mr. Wilson gave notice that a failure to elect a Democratic Congress would be regarded in Europe as a repudiation of his policies. Most Americans are generous enough to say that the elections were not a conclusive and express repudiation of Mr. Wilson's policies. No one, however, can truthfully say that the elections reflected approval of the Wilson policies.

The United States, in short, is not committed in any way to the projects for a league of nations, American guardianship of European territory, allotment of German territory to the victors, collection of indemnities, compromises with bolshevik agents of the enemy or any other suggestion arising from the peace conference. The only mandate to Mr. Wilson from the people of the United States is that the war against Germany and Austria-Hungary shall be fought to a victorious conclusion.



*Friday, February 14, 1919*

## The Allied Powers and Russia

A POOR showing in behalf of the allied powers is made by Mr. Lloyd George in the matter of Russia. The Prinkipo conference is weakly defended by him, but he knows at least as much as other persons and is therefore aware that there will be no conference of Russian factions and the allies at Prinkipo. The allies may meet and confer with the bolsheviki, if they like, but the self-respecting pro-ally Russians will not be there.

Inasmuch as there are representatives of the loyal Russian factions in Paris, very well known and reliable men, like Prince Lvoff, Ambassador Bakhmeteff, M. Tchaikovsky and others, it seems improbable that the supreme peace council issued its invitation out of pure ignorance of the attitude of loyal Russians. The council must have known that loyal Russians would not meet and bargain with the bolsheviki as to the best method of betraying Russia and the allies. Loyal Russians have insisted from the first, and now insist, that there cannot be any compromise with the bolsheviki, for the reason that the bolsheviki scheme of revolution has as its cornerstone the destruction of existing governments. If the bolsheviki would agree to compromise, they would no longer be bolsheviki, and their excuse for existence would vanish. If the allies should seek to make concessions to the bolsheviki, it would be like sharpening the knife to be laid at the throat of civilization.

The purpose of the supreme council, therefore, could not have hinged upon the success of the plan for an all-Russian conference with the allied representatives at Prinkipo. Why was this plan proposed? Several conjectures have been made by perplexed commentators. One is that the allied powers wished to sound out public sentiment concerning the bolsheviki. If that be true, the powers now know how the peoples of allied countries stand and also how the loyal Russians stand.

Another guess is that the council has intended from the first to intervene in Russia, but preferred to have the factions commit themselves for or against a conference in order to justify the next step, intervention. But this conjecture is met by Mr. Lloyd George's statement that the allied powers do not intend to intervene in Russia; that the size of the force required would be such that no sane man

would ask the allies to undertake the task, and also that the United States would not join in intervention, either with men, money or material. That last statement will be astonishing to Americans, despite the known reluctance of President Wilson to send large forces to Russia. Unless Mr. Lloyd George has some information unknown to the American public there will be some doubt that the policy of the United States is definitely fixed against the sending of any men, money or material to aid loyal Russians against the bolsheviki.

The summary of the allied attitude as made by Mr. Lloyd George is permeated with a despairing spirit quite unlike the usual temper of the energetic and confident premier of Great Britain. It will not strike a responsive chord in the breasts of patriotic and determined Americans, who are resolved to see through to the end all struggles involving the security of their liberty. Whether Hohenzollern or Lenine, whether scientific autocratic might or satanic mob violence and ignorance be the assailant, Americans generally are ready to face and destroy the foe. They know the liberty-loving Russians as well as or better than Mr. Lloyd George seems to know them, and they reject the suggestion that friendly aid would be regarded by the Russians as an attack upon their nation, to be met only by joining the bolsheviki and making universal war. The facts in Russia do not support Mr. Lloyd George. The loyal Russians have not attacked the Czecho-Slovaks. Nor did the Czecho-Slovaks need a gigantic force such as Mr. Lloyd George says is necessary to make intervention successful.

If the Czecho-Slovak forces had been backed up at Cheliabinsk by a few regiments and by supplies, as recommended by allied staff officers, the bolsheviki would have been kept out of the richest parts of Russia. The allies easily could have spared these regiments. They can spare them now. They can take Petrograd tomorrow if they wish. They can scatter the bolsheviki and carry food and clothing to the peasants, who are almost universally against the bolsheviki.

No; the statements regarding the allies' attitude toward Russia are not convincing. There is something else bearing upon the situation. Some powerful influence is inducing the allied nations to refrain from striking down the bolsheviki.

*Saturday, February 15, 1919*

## The League of Nations Project

FOR all practical purposes the United States is not interested in any project for a league of nations unless it is such a league as the United States can join without violence to its own Constitution and sovereignty. The question now is whether the outline of a league just made public in Paris is such a project, or whether it is susceptible of amendment to conform to American ideas, or whether it must be rejected altogether.

The text of the league of nations' project will be read and dissected by millions of Americans who are intensely desirous of abolishing war and also intently devoted to their own country, its independence, its honor, its constituted government and its interest. Their feelings are apt to become mixed when they read the document which has been framed at Paris. The aim of the project is so noble, so richly deserving the whole-hearted support of every right-minded man, that it will be difficult to withhold approval of the text, and yet the provisions for enforcement of world peace are such as to run counter to some of the fundamental traditions of America.

When it was suggested a few weeks ago to a distinguished foreigner that the project of the league of nations as foreshadowed meant, if approved, several radical amendments of the Constitution of the United States, he replied that he did not doubt that the constitution of every state in the world would have to be amended. If this be true, and if every nation in the world stands ready to amend its fundamental law to attain international accord, why should not the United States be willing to do as much for the sake of peace? That question will surely be thrust before the people of the United States if the Senate should voice objections to the project as it stands.

The Post does not intend to point out provisions in the projected league of nations which will arouse controversy in the Senate and in the country. There are many such provisions, and they will be quickly called to public attention. The question which we wish to discuss just now is whether the United States is prepared in its mind and heart to contribute part of its independence to a league of nations for the sake of promoting universal peace.

The text of the proposed league reveals the bold, immovable fact that there cannot be an effective league of nations unless individual



nations surrender to it a portion of their control over their military and naval programs, their independent action in dealing with other nations, their plans for defense and their readiness to defend with instant force any unwarranted act of aggression, insult or wrong.

The question is whether the United States has such confidence in the wisdom, impartiality and strength of a league of nations as to intrust to it the really decisive share of responsibility for the welfare of this nation. If so, the Constitution can be amended to permit the ratification of the treaty creating the league. If not, the league cannot include the United States as a member.

The peculiar position of the United States in this world will be duly considered in answering the question soon to be propounded. The United States is guardian of the system of free governments in this hemisphere, and within the lifetime of middle-aged Americans this guardianship was exercised against the nation that Americans deeply love, namely, France. Abraham Lincoln was compelled to order France out of Mexico before a brother of the late Hapsburg Franz Josef should be too firmly seated on an imperial throne at the door of this nation. If such events could have happened less than a lifetime since, what complications may be reasonably expected in the course of many decades? Is the United States prepared to turn over to a league of nations the execution of the Monroe doctrine? If so, there need be little dispute over the verbiage of the obligation. If not, the leading republic, the deciding force in this war, will not join the league as it is projected.

The destiny of the United States is bound up in the project of the league of nations. No American citizen should fail to study this subject with diligence, in order that he may contribute, if possible, to some plan which will enable the nations to abolish war while maintaining their own independence.

*Sunday, February 16, 1919*

## The People Must Decide

THE power exercised by the government of the United States was delegated to it by the States and by the people. This power is not transferable. It cannot be increased or diminished by any action of the government nor increased or diminished by any action of the States or the people, except by a method provided by the States and the people when they granted the power. The individuals temporarily executing the power by virtue of their offices have nothing to do with the origin, transfer or modification of the power. Their oaths of office require them to execute the duties imposed upon them, and no more.

The United States government, not being the originator of its powers, is not authorized to confer with foreign governments as to any changes that individuals may deem desirable in the nature and scope of America's national powers. It does not matter whether these individuals are in or out of office, whether they are influential with the people or whether they believe they are qualified to make improvements in the relations between the people, the States and the Federal government.

The treaty-making power of the United States cannot, of course, amend the Constitution which creates the treaty-making power. Within the scope of its authority the treaty-making power is supreme, but its power is limited, just as all other powers of the government are limited. The treaty-making power is in continuous operation, as it were, and so is Congress. A treaty made yesterday may be amended or repealed by a law made today, or by a new treaty made tomorrow. A treaty is the supreme law of the land, but any other law passed by Congress may annul the treaty.

Under the Constitution Congress has certain powers which it cannot enlarge, diminish, modify or ignore. It has the power to declare war, which includes the power to avoid or terminate war. It cannot delegate this power to the President, the Supreme Court, a league of nations or any other agency, nor can it return this power to the States and the people. Nor can the States or the people make war except by virtue of a declaration by Congress. Some Presidents have been accused of making war without a declaration by Congress, but there are important distinctions between casual armed collisions and a state of war.

No treaty can be made by which the United States government can agree to substitute the decision of a league of nations for Congress in declaring a state of war. Nor can any treaty pass the Supreme Court which attempts to create an obligation upon Congress to declare war when called upon to do so by an international organization. Nor can any treaty pass muster which obliges Congress to accept the mandate of another authority regarding the size and composition of the United States army, the navy, the fortifications or the armaments of the United States or its possessions on land or sea. Nor can any treaty be put into effect which would compel the United States to send an army overseas against the will of Congress. Nor can any treaty be made which deprives the United States of the right to preserve its neutrality in case of war between two or more foreign nations, for denial of this right would be equivalent to denial of the right to declare war. Nor can any treaty be made under which, upon the outbreak of foreign war, the United States would be compelled to suspend its commerce with any state against the will of Congress.

If the violent assumption should be made that a treaty could be ratified, providing for some of these transfers of national power, and that it might be operative in spite of its conflict with the Constitution, it should be remembered that any Congress, by a majority vote, may set aside such a treaty at any time. It is quite imaginable that an executive might endeavor to comply with a treaty obligating the nation to make war, suspend commerce or abandon neutrality, and that a Congress, wholly disagreeing with the executive, might enact legislation making the treaty a scrap of paper. But it is not to be presumed that any unconstitutional treaty will ever be ratified by the Senate, or that any Executive will ever attempt to deny or ignore the exclusive power of Congress to declare war, raise an army and navy, borrow money and regulate commerce between the States and with foreign nations.

The question whether the United States shall join a league of nations must go to the people for decision. The President and the Senate, as the treaty-making power, have no power to amend the Constitution. Even though the Senate should unanimously ratify a treaty transferring the war-making power to a league of nations, still the old Constitution would stand unimpaired, and all their effort would be vain, unless the people should modify their will as expressed in the organic law that controls all parts of the government.



*Tuesday, February 25, 1919*

## The Duty of the United States

WITH stirring eloquence and a depth of feeling that reveals his faith in what he advocates, President Wilson outlined yesterday the reason why, in his opinion, the United States must now depart from its traditional course, remodel its institutions and join the world's nations in a league to insure peace. This address will be eagerly read and pondered, and therefore it is unnecessary to epitomize it here. Its presentation of the ideal for which America fought—the vindication of liberty—is a masterpiece of truth and eloquence. Its statement of the reason why the United States must join a league of nations is, in a nutshell, that the world's peoples depend upon this nation because of its disinterestedness; that small nations coming into being will not be safe except under the protection of the United States, and that the United States is now in duty bound to share in the work of making liberty safe throughout the world by joining a league framed for that purpose.

All enlightened Americans eagerly admit that the United States owes it to the world to sympathize with the lovers of liberty and to give them a helping hand. Many Americans will go further and contend that wherever a free nation's independence is assailed the United States should strike down its assailant.

Nowhere is there any dispute as to the right and duty of the United States to take part in the present war. Whether the United States went to war solely to defend its rights and then found it was aiding in the general defense of liberty, or whether the underlying defense of liberty was the controlling motive, does not matter. Every American is glad that America's strength gave the final stroke that made European nations free. That contribution to universal liberty is not begrudged or regretted.

The proposal is now made to Americans that they should consent to a permanent and radical change in their structure of government in order to be most useful to the cause of humanity and liberty, and they have the opinion of their President that this change is not only advisable, but absolutely necessary. The necessity appears to arise from the condition in which Europe finds itself and the hopelessness of preventing further war unless the United States shall join a league of nations.

The President's deep sincerity impresses every reader of his address. He sees no other alternative, no way in which the United States can meet foreign expectations and its own duty except by joining the league. Nevertheless, his countrymen may fail to reach the conviction that this is the only or the best way in which the United States can be of service to the world.

The United States, acting according to its historic policy and in harmony with its organic law, decided for itself when and how it should go to war. It conducted its operations in its own way without entangling itself in alliances with any nations, and it will hardly be denied that the independent action of this nation, through its great President, contributed far more powerfully to early and overwhelming victory than would have been the case if the United States had been compelled to subordinate its will to the executive council of a league of nations having its headquarters somewhere outside of America.

Many Americans believe that the true policy for the United States to pursue in befriending the world and defending the cause of liberty is that of complete, absolute independence of decision and action. Why should not the eastern hemisphere's free nations form a league of nations, to perform for that hemisphere what the United States performs for the western hemisphere? If the eastern half of the world should form such a league, constituting a power equivalent to the United States and the Pan-American Union, then the western republics would gladly clasp hands with it. No doubt the United States would then announce a new doctrine, namely, that if any power or powers should attack the league of free nations in the eastern hemisphere, the United States would regard it as an attack upon liberty and free government and would feel itself free to proceed with any measures it might deem expedient to aid and sustain the cause of liberty.

*Thursday, February 27, 1919*

## Let the Eastern Hemisphere Combine

IT IS assumed that the only practicable method of preventing war and preserving liberty is by the creation of a league of nations, which shall have final authority over the action of all governments in certain cases, and that the United States must join such a league. Some of the advocates of the league of nations are somewhat impatient of inquiry and suggest that those who oppose the league are mere obstructionists who do not and cannot suggest any other plan of preserving the world's liberty. Mr. Taft, for example, seems to have concluded that further efforts to solve the problem are useless; that it must be a world league or nothing.

Is it true that the world's wisdom has refined the matter down to the point where the United States and all other nations must pool their sovereignty and transfer the power of decision to an international body? With the highest respect it cannot be said that the wisdom displayed by the Paris peace conference is such that the nations would willingly transfer their free will to it. The American representatives in Paris have quite pointedly and properly refused on several occasions to surrender their opinions to the peace conference.

The Paris peace conference has not been able to make peace with Germany and has not even prevented fighting among the smaller nations. It has discussed a league of world peace when it was unable to make peace in a portion of Europe. It projects a scheme for compelling nations to keep the peace when it acknowledges that it dare not go into Russia and quell the disturbers of the peace.

Yet the Paris conference is composed of the world's free nations, freshly victorious and able to enforce their will from one end of Europe to the other. If they cannot bring themselves to act harmoniously now, would their membership in a league change their ideas and wills? Until they do act harmoniously on the hard and brutal task at hand, namely, the shackling of the world's only enemy, is it not inevitable that the outside world should be skeptical of their real desire to pool their wills in a league? If, in other words, the world's nations cannot act in harmony in disposing of a practical matter before them, a matter that threatens their existence unless it is disposed of, can they be expected to act harmoniously on an ideal?

The eastern hemisphere is in turmoil, while the west is at peace and is free. Why this difference? Is it not partly at least because



there is a power in the western hemisphere capable of commanding and maintaining both peace and freedom? For nearly a century the United States, alone, of its sole will, has enforced the doctrine that no empire shall be erected on the ruins of democracy anywhere in this hemisphere.

Now that the nations of Europe are free from the menace of Germany, or can make themselves free by taking practical measures to disunite and shackle Germany, why should they not pool their strength and create a league of nations dominating the eastern hemisphere? The object of the league would be precisely that of the Monroe doctrine—the protection of governments of the people, by the people, for the people.

If France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Poland, Greece, Serbia and the other nations of the eastern hemisphere should form a league, their combined strength would be sufficient to command and maintain both peace and liberty. The United States and all American nations would instantly greet such a league and would pledge themselves to respect its authority over the eastern hemisphere. The United States without doubt would declare that any attack upon the league of nations of the eastern hemisphere would be regarded as an attack upon universal liberty and therefore a matter of immediate concern to this nation, and that it would reserve the right to join with all its resources in putting down such an assailant.

This plan would preserve intact the complete independence of the United States and the integrity of the Monroe doctrine, while giving to the eastern hemisphere the security which it now lacks. There is no entangling alliance in this plan, but there is assurance of effective action by the United States in coöperation with free nations. The destiny of this nation and hemisphere would not be taken from American hands, but the people of Europe would be protected. If the league should prove a failure, the experiment would not drag the United States into war.

Let the eastern hemisphere provide a common bulwark of strength by combining its free nations. The western hemisphere will always act with it in keeping the world free.

*Friday, February 28, 1919*

## The Way to Freedom and Peace

THOSE who advocate a league of nations of which the United States shall be a member are anxious that the league shall be strong, so that it may put a stop to wars. They agree that there is no use in organizing a league if it is not to be effective in maintaining free governments against the aggression of outlaws like Germany. Therefore they agree that the league must have authority to make war as a last resort. All else failing, overwhelming force must be used on the side of liberty to overcome force used on the side of wrong.

That is the lesson that the world has just learned and which need not be repeated—the lesson that liberty is safe only when it can exert greater brute force than its enemy.

A league of nations unarmed and unable to use arms would be the scoff of aggressive powers, the jest of such outlaws as the Germans, and the handy machine of scheming politicians and governments inside and outside of the league.

A league of nations calling upon its members to go to battle and meeting with refusal would be a contemptible scrap of paper. To the honor of most of the advocates of American membership in the proposed league they insist that the United States shall be bound by its obligation and shall go to war in any cause and in any place anywhere in the world if the league so decrees. One or two feeble voices have been raised, suggesting that the United States need not fear to enter the league, because Congress can repudiate and repeal the treaty by enacting a law whenever it disagrees with the mandate of the league. That is a counsel of dishonor and is a cowardly attempt to evade the points of the dilemma upon which league advocates are impaled.

The dilemma is this: The United States cannot by treaty alter its form of government, and yet it must alter its form of government if it is to join a league of nations which shall have power to compel the United States to go to war.

The heart's core of the proposed league of nations is the voluntary subordination of the national will to an international authority having the decision of peace and war. That would mean the transfer of the power to declare war from Congress to the international

authority in question. This transfer of power cannot be made by the President and the Senate, directly or indirectly. The power was given to Congress by the people, and only the people can take it away or transfer it to a league.

A treaty making peace with Germany, containing also a league of nations on the plan proposed by the Paris conference, is and will remain a scrap of paper so far as the United States is concerned unless and until the Constitution is amended by the American people.

The proposal to change the structure of the United States government to conform to the projected league is a most difficult, awkward, tedious and uncertain method of working out peace for the world, even assuming that the people will be willing to change their government and adopt experiment in place of tested truth.

Yet the structure of the government must be changed if the United States is to be a member of a league containing within itself the sole power to wield the strength of the nations against the enemies of liberty.

It is because of this dilemma, as well as because of the manifest objections to entering into alliance with other nations, that the United States should now declare in favor of the organization of a league of nations of the eastern hemisphere only, to deal with the eastern hemisphere only. The free nations of that hemisphere have it in their power to organize this league at this time under the most favorable auspices, with the warm coöperation and friendship of every nation in the western half of the world. Once established, the league would be recognized by the United States as the guardian of free governments in the eastern hemisphere. It would be as paramount as the United States is in the western world and as unhampered in its judgment as to the best method of preserving liberty and peace.

The moral force and influence of the United States and all the western nations would support the eastern hemisphere league, and thus the great ideal sought by President Wilson—the concentration of the moral force of the world—would be achieved without any complications or dangers. Then, if that moral force should fail to keep in check treacherous powers like Germany, the United States of its own free will would go across the ocean and fight shoulder to shoulder with the free nations as it has just done.

It is unnecessary for the United States to change its government and abandon its traditions in order that freedom and peace may be established in Europe.



*Monday, March 3, 1919*

## America Cannot Furnish All the Altruism

LATE advices foreshadow quite clearly the attitude that will be assumed by the principal nations in the near future. It is already evident that two important conditions have been created, which will become more apparent as the nations disclose their fixed purpose. The two conditions are:

The allied nations are agreed upon a policy of rigorous disarmament and punishment of Germany, in which they have the support of the American delegation.

The allied nations are thrusting forward individual demands, which, if agreed to, would impose great and unexpected burdens upon the United States.

In the first case, the free nations find it fairly easy to agree upon an early peace based upon the complete defeat of Germany.

In the second case, these nations find it difficult to repress their individual desires, in view of the apparent readiness of the American delegates to commit the United States to additional acts of generosity.

President Wilson has surprised his critics by the thoroughgoing manner in which he agrees with the allies in the disarmament and punishment of Germany. By his coöperation with the allies he has made early peace practicable, and has also gained a powerful leverage over the allies, who hesitate to oppose his league of nations in the face of his hearty coöperation with them.

If the successful termination of hostilities with Germany and Austria-Hungary were the only business before the peace conference, there would be little delay and no disagreement among the allies which could not be speedily adjusted. But the proposal to make the creation of a world league an inseparable part of the peace settlement is giving rise to delay in peace itself, as well as developing deep-seated disagreements among the allies, which are in themselves possible causes of war if stirred up.

The allied nations are under a pressure little appreciated by Americans. The necessities resulting from the war leave narrow room for altruism, but on the contrary afford all allied statesmen good excuses for driving hard bargains at the expense of outsiders, including the United States. Americans will be called upon to exercise patience and good temper in the days immediately ahead, for they

will see a growing tendency on the part of all the allies to shift much of the load of war to the shoulders of the United States.

It is already assumed that the war's financial burdens will be so rearranged as to make the United States responsible for a debt far greater than Americans have dreamed of incurring.

It is also assumed as a matter of course that the United States will become the protector of several backward peoples, in distant regions, under an arrangement whereby this country will pay all bills, maintain armies, transport systems, etc., and be prepared to make war if necessary to protect its wards.

Would it not be well for the allied nations to guard themselves against too extravagant assumptions regarding the future action of the United States? They may be bitterly disappointed if they calculate that all the altruism must come from this side of the Atlantic and that all the tentative speculative conversation of the American delegates will be crystallized into American policy.

The plan to create a league of nations in which the United States would commit itself to go to war on the decision of an executive council has not been approved by the United States, and it is impossible at this time to determine whether or not the people would approve of it. They have already declared themselves in favor of successful peace settlements with Germany and Austria-Hungary, but they might declare themselves overwhelmingly against making the United States subordinate to a league of nations. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that if the treaty with Germany should contain a plan for a league of nations, the treaty might be amended or its approval by the Senate delayed until there could be obtained an expression from the American people.

Thus, while Americans were exercising the right to determine the destiny of their country, the nations of Europe might be placed under excruciating pains and dangers on account of the delay in the peace with Germany. Then, if the United States should conclude that the league of nations, as proposed, would saddle America with all the burdens and give Europe all the benefits, the whole plan would fail.

Let Europe not be too sure that, because the United States has been generous, this nation will place its wealth, its strength and its independence at the disposal of Europe.

*Sunday, March 9, 1919*

### A Few Examples

ARTICLE X of the proposed constitution of the league of nations reads as follows:

"The high contracting parties undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all states members of the league. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the executive council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled."

No doubt Spain would become a member of the league of nations. Therefore its territorial integrity and political independence would be respected and preserved against external aggression. If the league had been in operation in 1898, the United States could not have gone to the rescue of the people of Cuba, notwithstanding the fact that an intolerable condition had been created at the very door of the United States. The war against Spain was an act of external aggression by the United States, an attack upon Spain's territorial integrity and absolutely forbidden by the league of nations.

If the United States, instead of going to war, had appealed to the league for an arbitration of the question, Spain would have refused, on the ground that it was nonjusticiable. Persisting, the United States would have asked the executive council of the league to inquire into the dispute and make recommendations, and Spain would have been compelled to assent.

But the league of nations is not to have legislative power; therefore, in the Spanish-American dispute the executive council could have done nothing more than to apply existing law and advise the parties to respect it. Existing law recognized the sovereignty of Spain over Cuba, and therefore the United States would have lost its case. The people of Cuba would have been at the mercy of their oversea exploiters, and up to this hour would not have been independent.

Under the proposed plan of the league of nations there could not have been any United States of America. France, if she had made aggressive war against Great Britain, would have been crushed by the league, and Washington would have had to fight alone, not only against Great Britain but against the entire world leagued to



preserve the status quo. If the colonies had tried to appeal to the league for relief, they would probably have met with the reply given by President Wilson to senators who questioned him regarding Ireland, "That is not an international question, but one to be settled by the parties concerned." The league would have refused to receive a complaint against one of its members, lodged by a contumacious and revolutionary dependency. It would have referred to the government of George III any complaint made by his subjects, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry or other American agitators.

Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria made aggressive war against Turkey in 1911. That would have been prohibited by the league of nations, and Turkey would have been assisted by the combined world in repulsing the aggressors and denying their demands. The territory claimed by the aggressors had been recognized as belonging to Turkey. If the dispute had been arbitrated or dealt with by the proposed executive council, the decision inevitably would have been in favor of Turkey, for the law was in her favor, and the draft of the league of nations makes no provision for enacting international law. Thus the Balkan peoples subjected to the Turk could not have obtained relief, either by arbitration or by war, if there had been a league of nations such as is now proposed.

In an article appearing elsewhere in today's issue of *The Post*, Gen. William Crozier, the last surviving member of The Hague conference of 1899, shows how the issues of the war of 1812 and the Russo-Japanese war would have been affected by the league of nations. He demonstrates that unless the league of nations is empowered with the authority to enact international law, injustice and wrong will flourish unless they can be dealt with by war.

There are wars and wars. Americans are too clear-sighted to be drawn into any agreement that seeks to abolish war at the expense of peoples struggling to be free. They recall their own struggle and the war that gave them freedom, and they do not call that war a curse.

*Monday, March 10, 1919*

### The Eastern Half

**T**HANKS to the timely stupidity of a German-born British king the spirit of liberty was brought to a blaze in this country, and thanks to a conjunction of immortal intellects the liberty gained from England was placed upon an indestructible foundation. Liberty had been gained before by daring souls, but it had been lost. Liberty has been gained since the American revolution by heroic spirits who did not know how to hold the treasure they had gained. Eternal vigilance is not only the price, but the steady cost of liberty. In order to keep liberty complete and secure there must be a steady expenditure of vigilance and effort.

Europe consists of peoples free, partly free, and bound. The bound peoples, especially the Germans, love their fetters and will not be free. They do not know what self-government is and do not care to know. Their ideal is concentration of force, culminating in one center which dominates and controls all elements within the circumference. The system built upon their ideal has just been beaten back in the attempt by its worshipers to extend it over Europe and the whole world. Europe's free and partly free peoples are now able to complete their freedom and establish it on solid foundations, if they have the wisdom to coöperate and the resolution to bind the enemy while he is down.

It is proposed that all free nations shall join in a league, without regard to geographical situation. A constitution for such a league has been drawn up. It is incompatible with the system devised by the founders of the American republic, and destructive of the plan by which the founders made liberty secure in this hemisphere. If the plan of the league is approved by the American people, they will proceed to remodel their government to conform to the league, and they will abandon the plan for protecting the New World.

Is this necessary? If not actually necessary, is it advisable?

The eastern half of the world needs what the western half has had for a century—liberty, and peace based upon liberty. There is no great nation in the eastern hemisphere corresponding to the United States in the western. Therefore, let the free nations there pool their strength by creating a league. The league, properly organized, could act for all of them in defending the single principle that underlies

both liberty and peace—the principle of government of, by and for the people.

The United States does not need to participate in the affairs of the eastern hemisphere in order to promote peace. Let the nations of the Old World regulate its affairs. Let the Old World league stand for free government in that hemisphere, as the United States stands for it in this hemisphere. Let the nations in the eastern half of the world keep out of this hemisphere, and there is peace. Let the nations of this hemisphere keep out of the Old World, and there will be peace, provided the free nations there will organize a protective force equivalent to the United States.

The United States does not need to sign a document pledging it to go to the rescue of liberty. It has just saved Europe, and will do so again if liberty should be so imperiled as to endanger the New World. But America does not wish to abdicate its judgment and free will, or its method of perpetuating its own liberty. It is willing that the Old World should adopt this method, and it would cheerfully recognize an Old World Monroe doctrine declared by a league of nations of the eastern hemisphere. The United States would not only undertake not to interfere in Old World affairs, but would declare a new doctrine, supplementary to the Monroe doctrine affecting this side of the world. The new doctrine might be stated as follows:

“The United States recognizes the fact that the free governments of the eastern hemisphere have organized a league whose declared purpose is the defense in that hemisphere of the principle of government by consent of the governed. The United States hereby declares its sympathy with the purpose of said league, and further declares that it will regard an attack upon free government in the eastern hemisphere as an attack upon itself. It hereby reserves the right to deal with such a situation in any manner that it may deem most expedient.”

That would maintain world peace. It would keep America out of Europe and Europe out of the Americas. It would give governments in the two hemispheres such towering strength that no enemy would dare to attack them. It would provide means where a nation of one hemisphere wronged by a nation in the other would find an authority to compel prompt and full redress. There could not be war between one hemisphere and the other, because free nations do not conspire to attack other free nations.

Think it over, Americans!



*Thursday, March 13, 1919*

### The Coming Alternative

PEACE with the Germans will depend upon the determination and ability of the allies to apply force to the treacherous Teutons whenever they attempt to violate the terms of the treaty that they are about to be required to sign. The Germans will violate the treaty immediately and always unless they are under the fear of compulsion and punishment.

Although the scheme for a league of nations is not in the treaty with Germany, it is reported that the treaty will contain many provisions looking to the execution of its terms through the medium of the proposed league. The Germans apparently are to be held in check by the executive council of the league of nations. They are to be kept back of the Rhine, limited as to military and naval strength and equipment, brought to book in making indemnity payments, supervised in the return of stolen material and otherwise directed by the league of nations. This seems to be the plan which President Wilson has been chiefly instrumental in bringing into existence at Paris. The threads of the treaty with Germany are to run into the league of nations and be so intertwined with the league that the United States Senate and the American people must accept the league, it is said, if they wish to make the peace treaty with Germany.

The reason assigned by supporters of the league for this procedure is that there is no other way of maintaining peace after it shall have been obtained. They contend that unless there is a league there can be no peace worth while.

It was a heavy responsibility which President Wilson assumed when he committed the United States, so far as he could commit it, to the "covenant" of the league of nations. That "covenant" as drawn is repugnant to the Constitution of the United States and full of provisions which will cause no end of mischief and more than one war. The people of the United States will never accept such a "covenant." To do so would be more disastrous than continued war with Germany. When the matter is understood the people will choose the lesser of two evils and postpone peace with Germany rather than tie themselves to a compact which means, as it stands, the surrender of American independence.

Presumably the "covenant" is to be amended. There are intimations that this paragraph is to be patched up and that article

tinkered, in order to safeguard the United States. The Post has no hesitation in predicting that there will be hardly a vestige of the so-called "covenant" left after the people of the United States have dealt with it. It is impossible to patch and tinker it to conform wholly to the American spirit and the American structure of government. It was written by somebody totally ignorant of the American system of government and the American method of maintaining human freedom. The quickest and safest way to deal with it is to recast it altogether.

If the Paris peace conference does not reconstruct the constitution of the proposed league of nations to make it in harmony with the American system of government, the United States Senate will either amend it or reject it. That is what the Senate is for. It has performed such work for more than a century. The Senate will commit no such blunder as to attempt by treaty to amend the Constitution. In a situation which compels the Senate to deal with a treaty attempting to alter fundamental law, there can be only one result.

The viewpoint of other nations and the viewpoint of the United States are not quite the same. The allied nations must have effective peace and American help and, therefore, they are ready to commit themselves to a league of nations if the President of the United States tells them that this nation makes such action an indispensable condition of further coöperation by the United States. But the United States is not under the dire necessity of immediate peace, nor is it compelled to defer to the judgment of a more powerful neighbor whose assistance is a vital necessity. Therefore the people of the United States are free to consider this subject deliberately and fully before taking a decisive step. They know that their loyal friendship for the allies will not grow cool. They know that they will assist Europe with food, money and encouragement. But they know also that there is nothing in the situation which compels the United States to rush headlong into an international agreement before its meaning and consequences can be understood.

*Friday, March 14, 1919*

## The Voyage of Josephus

WHEN the world was prostrated by the announcement that Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, had on his mere fiat abolished the words "starboard" and "port" and substituted therefor the words "left hand" and "right hand," no satisfactory reason was forthcoming from the oracle to account for the mysterious order. Speculation was universal, and mankind bit the finger of astonishment; but mystery enveloped the subject, like the impenetrable fog that has befuddled the Navy Department ever since it pleased an inscrutable Providence to subject it to the caprice of the still more inscrutable Daniels. Wars came and armistices followed, but the mystery remained. It is only at this late hour that the truth is revealed.

Josephus Daniels is going to Europe! He is about to take the water! He feels the thrill of life along his keel! As Secretary of the Navy it is his right to remain safely away from salt water, engrossed in the congenial task of overruling the recommendations of men whose lives have been devoted to the navy. But there is a higher right, and Josephus boldly exercises it—the right to butt into international affairs at an inopportune time. As chief blunderer of the administration the Secretary of the Navy now prepares to look the ocean in the face, to pluck Neptune by the beard. But he does not care to be lost on the waste of waters, and for that reason, with long foresight and deep cunning, he made the momentous change of nautical terminology at which the whole world wondered. Now he can go forth, knowing his right hand from his left, and by careful discrimination between them he can be reasonably sure of bumping into the coast of Europe or Africa.

Envious critics of Josephus Daniels' greatness have said that his trip to Europe is unnecessary, a pure extravagance and a drain upon the Treasury. They have insisted that experts alone should go abroad, if it is advisable to gather further information concerning the latest types of warcraft. But this criticism is pure malice and rests upon a poor foundation. Do not these critics know that any recommendation made by experts is always rejected by Secretary Daniels? The waste would be in sending experts, for their reports would be treated as scraps of paper.



The malice of any criticism of Secretary Daniels' voyage lies in envy of his standing among the powers of the earth and resentment against the honors that are about to be showered upon him by grateful nations. Here, also, the critics are wrong. By virtue of one or two bold strokes of unadulterated bungling Josephus Daniels has not only prevented the expansion of the United States navy, but has held up the construction that was under way. If that action is not sufficient to win for him the genuine gratitude of rival naval powers, what greater blunder must be committed? Has not Josephus Daniels richly earned the titles, decorations, medals, ribbons and banquets that are about to be bestowed upon him? Which one of his critics could undertake to make greater and more far-reaching blunders? It is one thing for them to criticize and another to execute. Let them outdo Josephus Daniels, or forever hold their peace.

Moreover, in addition to what Mr. Daniels has already accomplished, vast fields of activity await his genius upon his arrival in Europe. The situation is ripe for strange developments. In his zeal for "helping papa" is it not possible for Josephus Daniels to conceive and blurt out some transcendent masterpiece of folly, some miracle of maladroitness that will compel the entire world to acclaim him as the emperor of absurdity? There are many things yet which the United States can give away. The depths of altruism and prodigality have not been sounded. We hold that Josephus Daniels has not reached the climax of his career. We confidently believe that he will make rich and rare discoveries on his forthcoming voyage, which will eclipse even his own former achievements and cause a delighted universe to take the crown from Don Quixote and place it on the head of Don Josephus, the Columbus of Blunderland.

On, on, undaunted voyager! Heed not such barbarous words as starboard and port! Keep from thy right hand all knowledge of what thy left is doing! Trust not to the advice of old salts, but place thy trust in thine own intuitive ignorance! On, Josephus, on!

*Monday, March 17, 1919*

### A Mistaken Foreign Assumption

THERE is grumbling in Paris and London because the United States Constitution stands in the way of a quick adjustment of certain outstanding questions. But for the Constitution, it is said, the general treaty of peace, containing the projected league of nations, would have been framed by this time.

It is also reported by reliable correspondents that President Wilson stands firmly for the "covenant," and that he resents all suggestions for amendments. He does not even intend to propose or accept an amendment reserving the principle of the Monroe doctrine. He intends to force the covenant through as it is written, for the reason that if he suggests any amendment the representatives of other nations will offer amendments, thereby giving rise to disputes, which will greatly delay or even destroy the project.

These reports from Paris are just cause for grave disquietude, inasmuch as they foreshadow delay in making peace—a delay that may work terrible hardship to France, Belgium, Italy, Serbia, Roumania and perhaps Great Britain—but they do not in the slightest degree change the attitude of the American people or the method whereby they register their will.

No treaty made by any representatives of the United States will have any validity whatever unless and until it is approved by the Senate. The governments concerned are all aware of this feature of American government, but perhaps they have mistaken the popularity of President Wilson as evidence that whatever he may approve will be approved offhand by the United States. That assumption, if acted upon, may lead to serious misunderstanding. The European governments will do well to bear always in mind the possibility of the United States overruling or altering the tentative engagements signed by its representatives in Paris.

An example has already been given in the course of the Paris negotiations which ought to serve as a warning to Europe that nothing is settled, so far as the United States is concerned, until it is settled by the United States itself. It will be admitted, no doubt, that President Wilson was well pleased with the covenant of the league of nations, and would have committed the United States to it, word for word, if the decision had been left to him. Yet, after only

a month of discussion, much of it merely preliminary, it is now evident that the covenant is not acceptable to the people of the United States and will not be accepted by them unless it is radically changed. No man in the United States except President Wilson insists upon the letter of the covenant as it stands. Every one else acknowledges that the covenant must be changed if the United States is to join the league of nations.

If this emphatic proof of the difference between the President's will and the national will is brought to light before the treaty is submitted to the Senate, European governments should by all means be careful not to take steps based upon a mere belief that the treaty will be ratified exactly as it was signed by the American delegates.

The American people want early peace. They have tried to induce their Paris delegates to hurry peace negotiations. But the people are not so anxious for peace that they will trade their independence for it. They will not, for the sake of peace, accept without scrutiny a bargain which on its face commits the United States to perpetual membership in a league whose scope and powers are so poorly defined that even its supporters disagree concerning them. This nation can and will take its time to ascertain exactly what is proposed. It will go very far in its effort to assist in forming an effective world league to prevent wars. It does not balk at the principle of a league. But it does emphatically balk at the suggestion of taking blindfolded a project hastily scrambled together by a few gentlemen in Paris under the urgency of what they believed to be the will of the American people.

The covenant drawn up by those gentlemen is not in the American spirit. It is in collision with the American Constitution and American methods of preserving liberty and peace. It was not written by an American, or by any person familiar with the American government. It is not necessary to peace with Germany. It is an intrusion at this time, out of proper order, and a stumbling block to early peace. Any foreign government may, if it chooses, make the mistake of confusing the act of the American representatives in Paris as the act of the United States, but the United States itself will make no such mistake.



*Sunday, March 30, 1919*

## Victor Nations Will Prevail

**W**HENEVER the agents of the victorious nations can bring themselves to use the force at their disposal they can have peace and order. So long as they encourage Prussianism and bolshevism by a show of mixed idealism, dissension, greed and cowardice, they need not expect the vicious elements to remain quiet.

The world is not at the mercy of either Prussianism or bolshevism—not at all. It is not at the mercy of the peace delegates at Paris, either. If Prussianism rears its head again, it will be punished. Bolshevism will die or be killed. If the peace delegates at Paris do not do their duty, they will be swept aside.

During the war there was a succession of ministers that moved so swiftly that they seemed to be racing. Whoever failed to make good was put aside automatically, without any discussion. The nations destroyed the incompetent as a necessary part of the process of self-preservation. The stress of war accentuated the rapid changes of ministries, but the process is going on all the time. It is going on now. Let the nations be confronted with real danger, and they will topple over their incompetents like a row of tenpins.

The peoples of the victorious nations are not afraid of Prussianism or bolshevism. They have shattered the arm of militarism, and bolshevism has no physical or moral terrors for people that are strong and well. But the victorious peoples are getting into an ugly mood because of the unnecessary and costly strain that is put upon them by the failure of their agents to harvest the fruits of victory.

France and England and Italy are hard pressed. They cannot return to production a moment too soon. Their normal life is suspended while the peace delegates prolong the fruitless discussions at Paris. France must have equipment with which to keep her people at work. England must have all doubt removed regarding a resumption of war, so that her people may return to peace work. Italy is keeping up a large army under the threat of war by the imperialist clique that controls Yugoslavia. Some of these Yugoslavs were lately allied with the enemy. Only a few weeks ago a Yugoslav, Gen. Boroevic, was commander-in-chief of the Hapsburg armies that tore at Italy's throat. He did not join the allies.

As for the United States, it is undeniable that its people are becoming resentful of the intrusion of the American delegates between

the victorious European nations and the vanquished enemy. If France is to recover, Germany must pay. Why does America interpose obstacles to the recovery of France? That is what many Americans ask. Why does America deny to Italy that which belongs to Italy; that which is indispensable to the existence of a free and independent Italy? Why does America threaten to build a tremendous navy, greater than Britain's, at a time when coöperation and good will between the two English-speaking nations is highly desirable if not indispensable to the world's welfare? The events of the last six months, including the elections of November 5, prove that this American interference with France, England and Italy is not an expression of the will of the people, but is directly contrary to their will. How long can the agent go contrary to his master's will before he will be called to account?

A lot of breath is wasted on the statement that the difficulties of making peace are so great as to be almost insuperable. We all know better. We all know that the worst difficulties have been manufactured. They are not inherent in the European situation. If the difficulties that have been deliberately thrust into the negotiations were brushed aside, the enemy could be shackled and bolshevism could be extinguished in short order. What is needed is not a Hamlet, full of dreams, "to be or not to be," but a Foch, inspired by the genius of freedom.

The victory will not be frittered away. The cost of it was too great, and the fruits of it are too badly needed by the free peoples of the world. They will act, if their agents fail to act. They will act through new agents, men of action and force. In those new hands the nations will place the forces that have saved the world. Doubt and feebleness will be blown to atoms along with Prussianism and bolshevism.

Who is so disturbed that he expects the free men of the world to surrender their freedom? Who is so deluded as to think that feebleness and futility will control the nations that have just destroyed the enemy of liberty?

Whether the talkers and dreamers at Paris will it or not, the flags of freedom will go forth and prevail over the powers of darkness.

*Saturday, April 5, 1919*

## Look Beneath the Surface

SEVERAL important factors are contributing to the pessimism that now fills the newspapers concerning the proceedings at Paris.

When these factors are analyzed, instead of being merely grouped as insoluble problems, we think it will appear that the pessimistic reports are exaggerated.

First let it be remembered that the purveyors of news do not and cannot ascertain and report all the facts. They have possession of public facts, and from them they are drawing deductions, which lean heavily toward pessimism. The facts not disclosed, which probably are as important as any disclosed facts, are in possession of the four men who are piecing together the arrangement that is hoped to bring peace now and hereafter.

Is it safe to draw conclusions from a partial knowledge of facts? No man dares to do this in his private affairs. The judicious man will not do so in considering the peace proceedings.

Among the factors that are contributing to the prevailing pessimism are these:

Secrecy at Paris.

The Hungarian developments.

The fact, now almost universally recognized, that the creation of an effective league of nations is impossible.

The dread that the allied powers will recognize the Lenine government.

Concerning secrecy, it is now seen that President Wilson spoke loosely, when he discussed the propositions of "secret diplomacy" and "open covenants openly arrived at." What he has in mind everybody knows and approves; that is, the abolition of the system of transferring the control of peoples from one dynasty to another without any regard for the wishes of the people themselves. But Mr. Wilson did not make clear the fact that secrecy is as necessary to honest men as it is to knaves, when knaves are about. In order to achieve a peace that will secure government based on consent of the governed, it is necessary that there shall be secrecy during the discussions of the representatives of the peoples. There is still an enemy, an evil intelligence that is ingenious in thwarting the desires of well-disposed nations. There is also an impatient and ignorant element in allied



countries which can only injure the cause of universal justice by intermeddling with complex questions.

It is highly probable that the secrecy of the four principal figures at Paris covers tentative and partly completed plans of the most admirable kind, which, if they can be perfected, will adjust the delicate questions at issue to the general satisfaction. Surely it is not reasonable to assume that all information withheld from the public is evil, blundering and provocative of strife.

Hungarian bolshevism is given an importance that it does not deserve.

Let it be borne in mind that the under-dog Magyars have been peons for centuries and that their masters are junkers in the closest possible partnership with the Prussian junkers. That being the structure of Hungary, a war is fought and lost, resulting in the keenest suffering by the peons. Add to this a natural predatory spirit and an opportunity to attack neighboring peoples, and the result is Hungarian bolshevism. But this bolshevism will be more active in Hungary than outside, and it will kill off many dangerous enemies of the human race. The allies can easily beat back any predatory Magyars who wander off their own grounds.

As for the projected league of nations, why should there be pessimism in the exposure of its inherent frailties? Rather should there be rejoicing, especially among Americans, who were threatened with incalculable harm by being driven into a ruinous alliance under the spur of a popular emotion, holy in its spirit and utterly reckless in its action. The United States now stands freed from the danger of the annihilation of its bulwarks. Therefore it is strong to aid the afflicted, feed the hungry, ward off the insane bolsheviki and smash the enemy.

There remains the dread of recognition of the bolshevik régime. That would be a calamity to all mankind. An explosion will surely follow if the British and American governments clasp hands with Lenine, even for temporary and opportunist reasons. But they have not done so yet, and the warnings from England and America may have swerved the heads of the two governments away from the idea. The question stands merely as a dread, not a fact. It has an ugly aspect, but it may be nothing but an apparition after all.

High above all these stands the eternal fact that humanity has struck down its would-be murderer. The nations that act as trustees for free mankind are an effective league to enforce the victory and therefore peace.

*Monday, April 21, 1919*

## No Alliance Needed or Advisable

**W**HILE the United States was coming into existence a treaty of alliance was made with France. That is the only treaty of alliance which the United States has ever made, and it was not made under the existing Constitution.

The spirit and structure of the government of the United States do not harmonize with leagues and alliances. The fact is often overlooked, by Americans as well as foreigners, that the United States government differs from all others. It was purposely made different; its difference makes it strong, and any effort to change its fundamental powers or their limitations is an attack upon the stability of the government. Fortunately the government always survives these attacks, from whatever sources they come. The structure stands just as it was created, because it is based upon truth. The inventors of political panaceas and the easy politicians who would trade away permanent blessings for temporary advantages have been innumerable. They have assailed the Constitution in vain. They die, and their works die with them. The Constitution remains.

The United States is more friendly to France than to any other nation. The life of France will not be taken, if the United States can prevent it. Yet the people of the United States will not enter into an alliance with France or any other nation. That fact ought to be well understood by this time; but if it is not, it will be duly impressed upon any man or any party that attempts to embroil this nation in a compact binding it to perform certain things in the unknown future, under unknown conditions, contingent upon the action of foreigners.

The reason why the United States will not enter into an alliance with any nation is simple and clear. It is because this nation can be of more service to its friends and more damaging to its enemies when outside of an alliance than within one.

An alliance would mean nothing unless it committed the United States to a certain action under certain contingencies. But the United States cannot advantageously be committed in advance to pursue any fixed course in such an important business as war. This nation must be free to do what is best at the time it is called upon to act.

An alliance with France and Great Britain, requiring this nation



to declare war, if either of those nations should be attacked, might work to the utter defeat of the object of the treaty. A President of one political party and a Congress of another might lock horns and prevent any action whatever. The treaty might be construed as delivering the nation over to other nations whose blunders drove them into unnecessary war. Or the United States might be drawn into war at the wrong time, when by the exercise of its own judgment it could have rendered far better service to its friends.

No foreigners can ever be better judges than Americans of America's temper, resources and readiness. No foreigner can tell better than an American when and where the United States can deliver the most telling blow in war. To the extent that foreign judgment enters into control of America's decisions, those decisions will be dangerously infirm because of insufficient knowledge of American psychology.

Some persons firmly believe that the United States should have rushed into the European war when Germany invaded Belgium. They think such a course would have saved France and Britain great losses. What proof have they? Is it not quite possible that the disorganization resulting from sudden and unexpected war would have prevented America from delivering the food and materials which enabled France and Britain to hold Germany back? Not men, but the instantaneous delivery of materials, was the thing then most needed; and if the United States had become involved in its own war preparations it might not have been able to look after the wants of other nations. It could have been in the war sooner, but in the meantime France and England might have been defeated. It must not be forgotten that the United States for two years was the reservoir from which France, England, Russia and their allies drew freely all the supplies they needed. They could not have done that, if the United States had immediately diverted its resources to the creation and supply of its own armies.

No league of nations is needed to keep the United States on the side of liberty and free government. No alliance is needed to compel the United States to defend France against Germany. This nation, in its own way, according to its own best judgment, unfettered by obligations made in the dark, will always befriend nations that are fighting for the principle of government by the consent of the governed. If those nations cannot withstand the attacks, the United States will itself go forward and beat off the assailant without any treaty obligation to do so. It will not see government of the people, by the people, for the people perish from the earth.



*Friday, April 25, 1919*

### Allies Must Remain Friends

THE peace delegates at Paris are going forward with wonderful optimism, on the assumption that the denial of guarantees of security and equality to certain great nations will not prevent the making of peace and the creation of a league of nations, which will take control of the entire world upon the ratification of the peace treaty. One of the aims of the United States when it entered the war was to "make the world safe for democracy," but when the American delegates entered the peace conference there was an immediate charge that they were preventing the democracies from making themselves safe.

The last democracy to be denied the safety it seeks is Italy. In this case there is no disguising the fact that it is President Wilson himself who seeks to prevent Italy from making its borders secure against another invasion by the German and Austrian Huns. President Wilson appeals to Italy to accept his decision, which he intimates is the decision of the people of the United States. There is nothing of record to indicate the position of the people of this country, however, except the general expression of the elections last November, which Mr. Wilson announced beforehand would constitute a repudiation of his policies in the eyes of Europe if the people should fail to elect a Democratic Congress. They failed. Therefore, when Americans suggest that Premier Orlando and Baron Sonnino do not represent the real opinion of Italy, it is quite logical for the Italians to retort that President Wilson does not represent the real opinion of America.

There is now a breach between the United States and Italy. It is pregnant with danger—not the minor danger of direct war, but the greater danger of permanent estrangement and hatred. That would be a most deplorable outcome of the Paris conference, more destructive in its consequences than a failure to make peace with Germany. Germany is down and out, and if the United States did not make any formal peace for several years, this country would not suffer. Italy, however, is one of the five trustees of the world's civilization and liberty, and an estrangement between Italians and Americans would make impossible a league of nations worthy of the name.

The friendship of France, England, Italy, Japan and the United States is the prime factor of the world's peace and security. That

friendship has just saved the world from slavery to the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg systems of absolutism. The first duty of these nations is to preserve their mutual friendship. This duty stands before peace with Germany. The greatest desire of the Hun is to break up the friendship of the allies. During the fighting the dire necessity of survival compelled the allies to work together. The beginning of the peace conference marked the opening of the period of greatest danger to the allies, which was duly pointed out by The Post at the time. We expressed the ardent hope that the allies would appreciate the danger that surrounded them. We suggested that the enemy would strain every nerve to drive the allies apart, in the critical period when they would be required to adjust their claims and formulate their demands upon the enemy.

Nothing can ever take the place of friendship and confidence among the five nations that have formed the league of liberty. If they fall apart, the enemy thrives. They need not make alliances with the enemy in order to upset the world. The mere estrangement of the allies is enough for the Huns and the bolsheviki. In that estrangement these savage enemies, representing the extremes of autocracy and anarchy, would find ample opportunity for attacking and slaughtering human liberty.

No paper league of nations and no peace with Germany will keep peace in this world if the five leading nations become enemies. We all know that peace with Germany is not genuine peace, but a truce until Germany can go on the warpath again. We all know that a league of nations which fails to include Italy, Japan, Germany and Russia is a declaration of war against those nations which will compel them to become allies. Better that each free nation should stand alone than to form a league which would provoke war.

America's first attempt to interfere in European affairs is a sorry experience, indeed. Few are the Americans who do not wish the President had kept the country out of the position of dictator to all the allies, and that he had not sought to deny to each of the allies a portion of its claims against the enemy. The inevitable result of such action is the growth of unfriendly feeling toward all the people of the United States and the well-nigh universal belief, which we believe to be utterly unfounded, that the United States has deliberately shielded the world's enemy from the punishment which he so richly earned.

Let us hope that the patience and genuine friendship of all the allies toward Americans will not fail in these trying days.

*Sunday, April 27, 1919*

## Fiume, Danzig and Kiaochow

MANY rumors are current regarding the ulterior purpose of the American delegation in Paris. It seems to be taken as a matter of course that President Wilson has some hidden objective in his opposition to the claims of Italy. One of the favorite hints of his critics is that he is really aiming at Japan, and that, for the sake of protecting China in its Shantung territory, he must be consistent by supporting the Yugoslavs in claiming Fiume. It is also insisted that Fiume and Danzig are on all fours, namely, that if the Poles are entitled to Danzig the Yugoslavs are equally entitled to Fiume.

A little inquiry will show that these assertions are erroneous. The naked truth is that the Poles are entitled to Danzig, the Italians to Fiume and the Chinese to Kiaochow.

Fiume is Italian in population and by the right of self-determination. It has proclaimed its desire to rejoin the Italian people. The Yugoslavs never possessed Fiume. The volume of Yugoslav commerce passing through Fiume is less than 10 per cent. There is no good reason why Fiume should not be restored to Italy with a proviso that the populations in the hinterland should enjoy free and equal use of the port.

No human skill can apportion Europe so that each flag shall cover one people and no other. The attempt to perform this feat is foolish and provocative of war. Diverse peoples can live happily and freely under any of the civilized flags of Europe. There is no excuse for a deadlock over Fiume, and the weary and panting millions who have just come through blood and tears will not take any excuse from the statesmen at Paris who drive peace away.

The Polish people are entitled to Danzig on the same grounds that the Italians are entitled to Fiume. Danzig is a Polish city and was formerly under the Polish flag. It was stolen from Poland by the Hohenzollerns as Fiume was stolen by the Hapsburgs. There are Germans in Danzig, but they can live at least as freely under the Polish flag as under the black flag of Prussia. Are the robbers to be allowed to keep their loot because they have held it a long time, or are the owners to receive first consideration? Danzig is as Polish as Warsaw, and Fiume is as Italian as Rome. The Paris



peace conference is reluctantly and timidly trying to give Poland the city that was robbed from her, but not even that much is granted to Italy in the case of Fiume. Instead, an attempt is made to show that Italy is herself a greedy imperialist.

Instead of laying down a precedent for denying Kiaochow to the Japanese, President Wilson may create a precedent at Fiume whereby Japan may strengthen her claim to territory that belongs to China. If the Yugoslavs are permitted to take Fiume away from Italy, the Japanese have a color of right to take Kiaochow away from the Chinese, for they can show that they need Kiaochow, that they conquered it from the Germans, and that in ousting the Germans they rightfully succeeded to all German rights.

The world will not slide into a season of blissful peace and good will among men if the Paris peace conference denies rights and champions wrongs. There is a conflict among President Wilson's fourteen points, notably the clash of self-determination versus sea outlets. Self-determination gives Fiume to Italy, but it is deemed necessary to deprive Italy of Fiume in order to give the Yugoslavs a sea outlet. Why this outlet cannot be provided without denying the principle of self-determination is not explained.

Danzig ought to go to the Poles, together with the territory behind it, which was robbed from Poland. But because there are Huns planted in that region the principle of self-determination is invoked, in favor of the enemy, to deprive the Poles of everything except a "corridor" to the sea. Danzig itself is to be made free, so that the enemy will be safe there. Why is Danzig to be free to the Huns and Fiume closed to the Italians? The "corridor" through which the Poles will approach Danzig will be an excellent arrangement for the Huns, facilitating the easy attack and quick slaughter of Poles in the future.

Fiume, Danzig and Kiaochow present, in short, attempted interference with national rights and the promotion of predatory schemes against rightful owners.

*Wednesday, April 30, 1919*

## The Constitution Is a Covenant

ON APRIL 6, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany and on December 7, 1917, it declared war on Austria-Hungary.

The declarations were made by Congress, as provided by the Constitution. There were no treaties of alliances with other nations, no leagues of nations or other compulsions or restraints to direct or control the will of the United States. The resources of the United States were pledged to the successful prosecution of the war, and the President was called upon to press it to a successful termination.

That is the only direction which the President has received from the people through their representatives. They did not authorize or direct him to enter into any working alliance with any other nation, and he very properly refrained from becoming entangled in the European alliance, although he coöperated with the allies, as he was expected to do.

The people have never outlined to the President their will regarding the manner of making peace. They have never told him to go to Paris and join in the discussion of European quarrels. They have never authorized him to agree with the allies that the United States would not make a separate peace.

The peoples have not authorized the President to assist in negotiating a joint treaty of peace with Germany. The wording of the declarations of war and the history of American policy indicate clearly that Congress and the people expected the United States to make separate peace with Germany and Austria-Hungary whenever those empires had been defeated and were ready to surrender unconditionally to the United States.

The proposition that the United States should make peace with Germany and Austria-Hungary only on conditions which involve this nation forever in the concerns of Europe is not supported by anything that Congress has ever enacted or that the people have ever authorized. The conditions attached to peace with the enemy have not been attached by the people of the United States or by the treaty-making power.

The assumption that the people of the United States will now, for the sake of making a joint treaty with Germany, abandon the fixed policy of the nation and join in an agreement to guarantee the

territorial integrity and political independence of a large number of nations, is a dangerous assumption for those nations that may rely upon it. They have no warrant from the American people to presume that this nation will take upon itself the quarrels of the world. If that presumption was raised because of the willingness of American representatives at Paris to interfere in the affairs of other nations, it should be borne in mind always that the United States is a peculiar nation and is not responsible for promises or pledges unless they are made by the treaty-making power. American history is full of tentative pledges, threats, promises of reward, intrigue and proposed entanglements agreed upon by America's temporary representatives and killed off by the treaty-making power. They are all scraps of paper and were never anything else.

The joint treaty with Germany, including the arrangement called the league of nations, is a scrap of paper so far as the United States is concerned, until and unless the treaty-making power shall approve it in the manner prescribed by the people. This treaty is so widely different from the peace that was looked for by the people, and creates so many novel and dangerous departures from American policy, that it will be rigorously scrutinized by the Senate. If in the opinion of the Senate the treaty is an attempt to set aside or override the powers allotted to the government in the Constitution, the treaty will be amended or rejected, notwithstanding it is a treaty of peace.

The integrity of the United States, the continued observance of the covenant already existing—that is, the Constitution—require that there shall not be a new covenant which will make the Constitution a scrap of paper. There are provisions of the league covenant which seem to set aside the Constitution. Inasmuch as the President and Senate, constituting the treaty-making power, cannot override the Constitution, the points in controversy must either be reconciled or the league covenant must fail. It is not a question of partisanship or even of peace with Germany. Both partisanship and peace are minor matters whenever the independence and security of the United States are in question.

The people of the United States have gone through many ordeals, but they have never yet been compelled to make peace with an enemy by sacrificing their liberty or their country's institutions.



*Sunday, May 4, 1919*

## China's Indictment

THE process by which Japan has been induced to become a member of the league of nations in spite of the refusal to recognize her as an equal is strikingly disclosed by the statement of the Chinese delegates to the Paris peace conference. Japan is granted a strangle hold upon territory and commercial privileges that belong to her neighbor, and the Chinese people in their weakness are left the privilege of voicing a vain protest.

Another secret treaty comes to light also, which bargained away China's territory and sovereign rights without her knowledge or consent. This secret treaty was made in February and March, 1917, and all knowledge of it was withheld from China, which entered the war as a faithful ally in August, 1917, not knowing that Great Britain and France had already agreed to support the transfer to Japan of Germany's holdings in Shantung. It does not appear that Italy was a party to the treaty. The treaty requires Great Britain and France to stand by Japan in the peace conference, and they have done so.

Where is the "new order in Europe" and the inflexible and impartial application of the fourteen points? The Chinese statement is a withering indictment of the Paris conference as a body devoted to the creation of open covenants openly arrived at. First against Italy, and now against China, the American delegates have adopted a position that is incompatible with the spirit of America and repugnant to all ideas of the "square deal." In one case the American delegation has taken the lead proposing to deprive a friendly nation of its territory, largely on the ground that the nation in question was involved in a secret and therefore illegitimate treaty. In the other case, the American delegation has not taken the lead, but it has acquiesced in putting into effect a secret treaty which deprives another friendly nation of its territory.

In both cases the representatives of the United States have gone far afield, entering into the affairs of another hemisphere, and in one case at least actually presuming to apportion out territory to European nations according to a map made by the Americans.

What authority was ever given by the people or Congress of the United States for these acts? What connection have these territorial quarrels with the plain duty of the United States to make peace with

Germany following victory gained by the shedding of American blood for an American cause?

It is impossible for patriotic Americans to view the proceedings at Paris, with their daily disclosure of embarrassments, complications and growing resentment, without heartily wishing that the policy of steering clear of foreign entanglements had been rigidly followed by the Executive in the conduct of the war and the peace adjustments. Nothing but resentment has been gained for Americans by the Fiume controversy, and nothing but resentment and deep distrust can be expected to flow from the Chinese controversy. The confidence in and friendship for America, which had been built up in China by many years of fair dealing and sympathetic diplomacy, now bid fair to disappear in a single day. The Chinese people now discover that they need not expect America to befriend them. The secret bargains of great powers are stronger, apparently, than any principles which declare for a league of nations which will respect the territorial integrity of nations great and small. Great nations, apparently, are safe; but small or weak nations, those which cannot make war or break up leagues, must not expect to have their territory respected.

Thus fade the bright and unsubstantial dreams of the equality of nations and mutual respect for the rights of all nations! The battle still goes to the strong and the race to the swift. The lion gets the lion's share, and the jackal thrives when he curries favor with the mighty. In the very name of liberty, for the very sake of preserving the world, a league is formed which has at its heart the seeds of death, because it denies truth, rewards the strong, robs the weak and blasphemes the spirit which it pretends to invoke.

How can any nation subscribe to a league which "guarantees" the territorial integrity of nations, in the face of what the Paris conference has just done to China and purposes to do to Italy?

*Wednesday, May 7, 1919*

### The Substitute for Nations

THE one man in Europe who holds first place in the confidence of the American people so far as military matters are concerned is Marshal Foch. He earned this confidence by planning and executing the defeat of the enemy. No diplomatic or political argument can sway the American people into rejection of Marshal Foch's judgment in military matters. When he declares that the treaty of peace does not provide sufficient military protection for France his word goes farther in this country than that of any other man, foreign or American.

Why is not France made safe in a military sense? What influence deters the peace conference from performing the supreme duty for which it was assembled? Who is responsible for the failure?

The session of the peace conference yesterday was secret. It was held for the purpose of giving the minor nations their first information regarding their own destiny, as determined by the representatives of five great powers, who in turn have been dominated by one man. This man, strange to say, lacks the power to commit his government to the hazardous experiment which he is endeavoring to materialize, and to which he has compelled European governments to subordinate or yield their just interests and rights. If the session yesterday had been public, the world this morning would resound with the indignant protests of nations which have discovered that their rights are sacrificed in the peace treaty for the sake of creating a questionable international organism intended to control all nations. Some of these protests have become known, in spite of the attempt to conceal them from the public, and it appears that France, as well as smaller nations, is deprived of the security and guarantees which are indispensable if war is to be avoided.

It is proposed that a league of nations shall be formed, which shall treat Germany as an outcast, and then France is informed that the league will insure peace and protect her against the fury and greed of the outlaw!

Among other protests that escaped complete suppression is that of China. The Chinese delegates filed a brief and dignified protest against the deliberate act of the peace conference in robbing China



of her territory and economic liberties. Yet China is expected to become a member of the league which results from such transactions!

A synopsis of the treaty is to be made public today, and that is all the information which the American people will be suffered to receive for the time being. This synopsis has been skillfully prepared, and will lay stress on the terms imposed upon Germany. Therefore it is quite possible that the American people will not fully appreciate, until later, how deep-seated is the resentment of the allied governments against the policy which has wrung from them so many concessions to Germany, and how settled is the conviction in Europe that the peace now being made is really the provocation of another war.

The allied nations, especially France, Great Britain and Italy, are convinced that concessions to the enemy are equivalent to diminution of victory itself. They would make no concessions to the enemy for the sake of creating an experimental league of nations, except for the fact that they are compelled to do so or break with the present President of the United States. Apparently these nations have adopted the plan of yielding to coercion as little as possible, always maintaining correct relations with Mr. Wilson, and biding their time until a change in the United States government will eliminate the obstacles which prevent all the allies and the United States from imposing an actual victorious peace upon the enemy.

What a responsibility has been assumed by the man who stands between civilization and its safety! What audacity is displayed when a man borrows the authority of the United States, without express permission, and employs it in inducements and threats, to force upon the world an untried plan which he hopes will prevent war! Once started on that course, all sorts of known and unrevealed extravagances have been the consequence. Much that has seen the light is in sinister defiance of the spirit of the American government and continuous American policy in this hemisphere and the other.

That which is concealed must come to light. The American people wish to know all that has occurred. They have not given their consent to what has been done or promised, and before they reward their enemies, punish their friends and accept an individual's substitute for the present system of independent nations, they will ask for a bill of particulars.

*Saturday, May 10, 1919*

## Americans Rule the United States

**A**LREADY, before there is any occasion for excitement, over-zealous advocates of the league of nations "just as it stands" are clamoring for the ratification of the peace treaty immediately upon its transmission to the Senate. Although these superheated persons and periodicals have not read the text of the treaty, they are more than willing to take it on faith, just as they took on faith the first text of the "covenant." Their memories are short, but perhaps they can stretch a point and recall their frantic insistence that the first draft of the covenant should be accepted just as it was written. Their tempers were upset by the opposition to the project to such an extent that the opponents were described as men who could not be trusted overnight. They were regarded as pro-German, at least, if not actual traitors.

Well, the first text of the covenant proved to be frail and faulty after all. Would any of the feverish advocates of the present text be willing now to accept the first text? If not, why not? Don't they think that the revised text is better than that first perfect inspired creation? The truth is that the covenant declared to be sacrosanct was so defective that it collapsed at the first barrage of criticism. It was better so; for if a project for controlling nations cannot stand a few days' criticism it deserves quick death.

There will be ample opportunity for examination of the treaty notwithstanding the desire of some partisans of the league to rush the project through before it can be dissected. In the first place, there will be delay in German acceptance of the treaty. The Germans may not sign at all; but in any event they will carefully study the proposals and offer alternatives in some cases. The allied delegates will study the German counter proposals with close attention; for if the enemy is really anxious to make peace, he is apt to produce valuable information which may facilitate the process. The allies have prepared the terms on the information they have been able to gather, but they would not pretend that they had before them all the information in possession of the enemy.

In the one question of relations between Germany and Russia the Germans can give to the allies extremely valuable coöperation in establishing secure peace if they desire to do so. They may have

this desire for reasons of their own. Surely the sagacious allied leaders will not reject an advantageous suggestion merely because it emanates from the enemy, if their tests disclose that the suggestion will promote genuine peace.

While the discussions are going on, the Senate will be in session, and doubtless the text of the treaty as it now stands will be before it. The Senate can proceed with the discussion of treaty matters affecting the United States.

Some of the frenzied advocates of the league increase popular distrust of their judgment when they insist that the Senate must ratify the treaty as a whole or reject it entirely. They think they have learned that if the Senate should amend the treaty, another world peace conference would have to be held to consider the Senate's amendments. Inasmuch as another conference is out of the question, the frenzied ones jump to the conclusion that the United States is compelled to accept or reject the treaty "just as it stands."

That is not the case. There need be no difficulty whatever in defining the extent and character of American adherence to the treaty of peace. There are propositions in the treaty which will never be accepted by the United States, because no agency of the United States has the authority to accept them. The treaty-making power has no such authority. There are other provisions of the utmost value, both to the United States and its associates, and they will be accepted without any division.

Democrats will be as anxious as Republicans to make the necessary reservations which will preserve inviolate the fundamental rule that the United States shall be governed solely by the American people. As that issue becomes clearer, through the maze of misinformation and well-meant but misdirected efforts to abolish war, the ease with which the United States will mold the work of its representatives at Paris will be surprising to those who now assume that the nation can be committed to fatal policies in advance of passing its own judgment upon them.



*Tuesday, May 20, 1919*

## No Peace Through Intermeddling

THE terms of the peace treaty, so far as revealed, are evidence of the impossibility of achieving real peace. Hatred fills the hearts of all Huns, and rooted aversion and distrust fill the hearts of all allied peoples. There is no room for the working of the Christian spirit, for the reason that the enemy is still vindictive, unreconciled and intent upon evil. The civilized nations cannot take the Huns to their bosoms without inviting destruction. They must bind them fast with the steel of armed force and the thongs of expiation. The Christian cannot set aside truth for the sake of mercy or reconciliation. The serpent remains a serpent and the Hun remains a Hun.

Therefore the treaty to be made at Paris will not be a peace treaty in the ordinary sense. It will be a definition of terms to be imposed rather than a statement of mutual agreements. If Germany signs, it will be with a vengeful and lying heart, with full intent to violate the terms whenever possible. If Germany does not sign at once, she will sign another paper later on, and the effect will be the same in the end—the imposition upon a beaten but irreconcilable people of a condition called peace as distinguished from military hostilities. This condition will be static hostility, not peace. It will resemble peace only by the absence of bloodshed. It will be as truly related to war as live coals are related to flames.

The allies are relying upon a paper called the league of nations to preserve the world's peace, including peace with Germany. Germany is excluded from the league and is to be forced to declare herself unfit to join the league. Thus the treaty provides that there shall be a spirit of war underlying the so-called peace. But instead of openly recognizing the impossibility of making real peace, the allies gloss over the situation with a lot of words which purport to create a world league of peace.

The league of nations provided for in the treaty with Germany is not a world league, although it pretends to be. It does not insure peace with Germany, although it pretends to do so. It claims the right to interfere in any question that arises anywhere in the world which may threaten peace, but at the same time it dodges the most important question of all—that of Russia. It declares that any na-

tion which starts war will be attacked by all other nations, but its declaration is not backed by any force whatever. It asserts control over the entire world and then pretends to avoid interference with the Monroe doctrine and the Lansing-Ishii agreement; that is, it exempts the western hemisphere and Asia from its jurisdiction, or seems to do so. Possibly a war must be fought to determine exactly whether the league or the Lansing-Ishii agreement is paramount in Asia. Thus, in case China should make war on Japan, the United States would be compelled to betray either Japan or China and go to war for one against the other.

The mind of the people in allied countries has been misled into believing that the league of nations will prevent war. As the truth forces itself to the front, as the American people see their boys held in Germany year after year and more of their boys sent to fight in regions of Europe and Asia that are perpetually at war, they will see what a terrible mistake was made when the representatives of the United States embroiled this country in European affairs under the mistaken ideal of forming a universal war-preventing alliance of nations. There can be no universal alliance, for the civilized nations will not ally themselves with the Huns and the bolsheviki. Any league short of a universal alliance is merely a line-up of one group of nations against another group in anticipation of war.

The mischief of the proposed league of nations, aside from the bitter disillusionment it will bring to peace-loving men everywhere, is in the fact that it entangles the United States in Europe. The allied nations of Europe are fully justified in forming a permanent alliance. They must do so, in fact, whether they wish it or not. But the United States need not and should not join their alliance. The United States should declare its sympathy with such an alliance, formed for the purpose of shackling the Germans and maintaining free governments; but the United States merely makes the situation worse when it enters into European politics, takes sides in European squabbles, sets itself up as an arbiter of European boundary and commercial disputes, and invites disgust and hatred by becoming a busybody in other nations' affairs.

The manner in which President Wilson alienated from himself the admiration and sympathy of the whole Italian people, in a single day, by a single act, serves as a reminder to Americans that they cannot expect to end wars in Europe by the simple process of intermeddling.

*Monday, June 2, 1919*

### Lazarus at the Gate

**I**F THERE is any country under the sun that needs the friendly aid of the United States, it is Mexico. It is proposed to make the United States the "mandatory" for Turkey, Armenia and other distant regions, while Mexico is in the throes of famine, revolution and economic prostration. Whether the brilliant idea of rainbow-chasing in Europe and shirking duty at home originated in the American delegation or whether it is the fruit of European brains does not matter—it is enough to know that it is foreign to the American spirit and cannot be matched for folly.

Mexico is at the back door of the United States. All the idealism proposed for Americans in Europe will be mere mockery if the United States continues to neglect the people of Mexico and thus earns the contempt of the world by posing as a Samaritan in far countries while neglecting the foulness at its doorstep.

The people of Mexico are not natural revolutionists and do not desire the turmoil and rapine that have impoverished and debilitated them. The revolutions concocted by bandit chieftains, down to and including Carranza, were all at the expense of and against the will of the Mexican people. Foreigners have been wronged, but not nearly so much as Mexicans. The horror of Mexico's strife has fallen upon the poor, the starving millions who would work if they could. They are the victims of every devilish scheme that rapacity and cruelty can devise. Carranza even adopted methods suggested by his friends the Huns to complete the evisceration of the Mexican people. There is not a source of livelihood that he has not subjected to the strangulation of graft, backed by rifles in the hands of sharers in the plunder. The Carranza military organization is nothing but a gang of thieves who have long since cowed or killed every decent Mexican who dared to protest. The only persons in Mexico who have stood out against the Carranza bandits are other bandits who are anxious to get their hands upon the people's means of living.

There is no hope for the Mexican people while they are the victims of villians of their own race. Help must come from some organized authority that is not organized robbery. There is no organization of power in Mexico that is not also an organization for pillage of the people. Outside authority must stand between the people and their exploiters long enough to enable the people to re-



organize and select their own administration. The Russians are not more surely intimidated by the bolsheviki than the Mexicans are intimidated by the Mexican bolsheviki.

Another revolution of formidable proportions is now beginning in Mexico for the purpose of putting Felipe Angeles in power. He is a man of good reputation and of exceptional ability. The military supporters of Angeles are led by Pancho Villa, the assassin whose raid at Columbus nearly induced the United States to do its duty in Mexico. Any government controlled by Villa himself would be merely a repetition of the Carranza reign of misrule, but Villa's fighting quality is such that he may do much good by aiding a really intelligent and patriotic Mexican to gain control. A change from Carranza to Angeles would be for the better—it could not be for the worse—but the experience of the last nine years is a warning against placing too much hope upon any revolutionary movement. Madero was a well-meaning man, but the sharks about him soon consumed the people's substance, and their crimes cost him his life.

The United States cannot escape the performance of its duty to the Mexican people, because the American people will not permit their government to shirk its duty. Sooner or later the shame of permitting a neighboring people to die from pestilence, famine and official plundering will strike home to Americans with such force as to cause them to command their government to do its duty.

The large proportion of uneducated persons and the unfortunate laws and customs inherited from evil days of Spanish tyranny made the Mexican people easy prey for professional exploiters organizing as "liberator," "first chief of the constitutional army," and "citizen charged with the executive power." While the Americans were lopping off dangerous conspirators in the early days, the Mexicans were falling victims to them. Each bad régime made them weaker, until now they are the prey of any neighborhood thief who can lead a dozen other thieves. The people in their ignorance and despair believe that the whole world is made up of starving victims and savage armed uniformed murderers.

This is the situation within sight of the flag that rescued France. It is within sound of rifles and cannons sufficient to rescue Mexico within a month. It is a condition that indicts the American people and government for their callous disregard of the duty of humanity and charity. Yet the neighbor peoples die, and at Paris there is high-flown talk of the United States as the defender of the poor and helpless!

*Tuesday, June 3, 1919*

## The Incubus at Paris

AS MIGHT have been expected, the spokesmen of the Huns have seized upon the league of nations section of the peace treaty as a means of spreading confusion and dissension among the allies, and also for the purpose of exposing the weakness of the league itself. It was an unlucky day when the Paris conference yielded to the pressure for incorporation of the fantastic league of nations in the stern terms to be imposed upon the world's enemy. The league is a dream; the treaty is a reality. The league deals with future conditions that may never materialize; the treaty deals with the appalling present condition of Europe. At a moment when Europe needed all the resolution, sanity and unity that it could command, the league project was thrust into the council of nations. From that moment there has been a steady growth of suspicion, distrust and secret bargaining. It has been with great difficulty that the victorious nations have been able to hold together. The attitude toward the United States government has changed from one of unreserved confidence to one of resentment and aversion.

The German plenipotentiaries gain nothing by their counter proposals. They will get their answer Friday, and no doubt it will be a command to sign the treaty by a certain date or take the consequences.

Notwithstanding the embarrassment caused by the covenant, the strong common sense of England, France and Italy will push through the terms that will bind Germany. The existence of the free nations depends upon the disarming of Germany and the exaction of reparation to the extent of her ability to pay during the next quarter of a century. Therefore, league or no league, Germany will not escape. Yet it is a pity that the Huns have been facilitated in their obstructive tactics by having such a ready instrument of confusion as the proposed league of nations placed before them for consideration.

The peace proceedings, in fact, are on a false basis in so far as they pretend to be an exchange of views between great adversaries now mutually desiring peace. The allies are determined to impose a certain set of conditions upon the prostrate enemy. They are right in fixing upon these terms and in imposing them with relentless thoroughness. They are wrong, however, when they go through the mockery of exchanging conversation with the enemy in order to



comply with ancient forms of treaty negotiation. The enemy, when the way is thus opened, has a right to presume that negotiations in good faith have been begun, and from that moment it is an absurdity for the allies suddenly to shut off discussion as soon as the enemy has outlined his views. If the peace terms are the fixed will of the allies, as they ought to be, they should be imposed forthwith, on a given date, whether Germany complains or not. If they are not the fixed will of the allies, they are certainly open to discussion and revision, in which case the enemy becomes an equal as a negotiator and may properly discuss any provision and make counter proposals.

What price has been paid for the league of nations covenant? No one is permitted to know. The dealers in national rights do not tell what promises or guarantees they have made. The public knows that the allied nations have made the best bargain they could for the sake of fastening an effective peace upon Germany, and that they have failed thus far to accomplish the object for which the war was fought. Germany is still arrogant, still talking of a peace on equal terms, and with undeniable logic is demanding immediate membership in the league of nations. If the allies should make the blunder of exchanging views with the Germans the enemy will get the better of the argument, for peace is peace, not enmity, and any world league of peace must necessarily include Germany.

The league cooked up in Paris is a poorly constructed alliance against Germany so long as it conspicuously excludes Germany as unfit to be a member. Germany is unfit to associate with free nations, and therefore there should be no pretense that the league is anything but an alliance against her. It is the persistent misrepresentation of the league that makes for trouble. It is pictured to be what it is not. It is credited with powers that it does not possess unless they are usurped, and it is described as a preventive of war when it is really an enemy of peace.

The reassuring feature of the present situation is the firm determination of the European leaders to bind Germany fast, in spite of the dangerous complications that have been caused by injecting the league of nations scheme into the proceedings. With Germany bound to comply with rigid peace terms, the world can brush aside the rubbish of the unworkable "covenant" and maintain human liberty by the open, voluntary association of free nations, each absolutely untrammelled in its own sovereign sphere.



*Sunday, June 15, 1919*

## Partnership With the Germans

**T**HROUGH the transparent device of "rewriting" the treaty of peace Germany is to save her face and accept the terms laid down by the allies. A few changes are made here and there, with solemn pretense that they are vitally important; but the most important change is the provision for easier and earlier admission of Germany into the league of nations.

The German delegates and the German government can soon tell the German people that the first treaty proposed by the allies was indignantly rejected; that the abashed allies reconsidered their position and proposed to Germany fresh terms, which, although hard, are tolerable, and that Germany, soon to become a member of the league of nations, is really victorious in the battle of wits that has followed the battle of swords. Some of this forthcoming explanation is true, and perhaps the German leaders will succeed in persuading and deceiving the people into acceptance of the treaty without revolt. There is much in the treaty to commend it to the Huns, for it leaves loopholes for their nefarious energies in Russia. The league of nations also opens to the Hun intellect a most inviting field of operations. With Russia open to German exploitation and the league of nations open to German intrigue, the Huns can do much to thwart the allies in executing the peace terms, and possibly they may force a complete reconsideration of the terms later on.

What the Germans may or may not do, however, is not so important now as what the allies can and should do; for the Huns can be made powerless if the allies so desire, and if they are not made powerless, they may be depended upon to work treacherously in Russia, in the league of nations and everywhere else. There being no thought of friendship or confidence on either side, it goes without saying that the Germans intend to deal treacherously if they can.

Why do the allied delegates facilitate Hun treachery by admitting them into the league of nations? The answer is clear: If there is to be a league, Germany must be admitted, however bloody her hands and however black her soul. The founders of the league have striven in vain to escape the logic of the situation they have created. Their league cannot hang together long enough to be put before the parliaments unless it can be made to appear a world league and not a junta of nations preparing to fight a league led by Germany.

So Germany soon joins the league—as soon as France, Belgium and the others can be tormented and intimidated into associating with their slayer. Then what? We are told that all is to be quietness and peace under the potent spell of the nine magicians of various colors who will direct the nations from Geneva. Why the world cannot be brought to quietness now by the five magicians at Paris is not explained; but presumably the magi at Geneva will possess more potent medicine.

What a solution of the distracted world's problems! What a concoction of intrigue, hatred and war! And it is seriously proposed that the giant United States, the Prometheus of nations, shall abdicate its sovereign control of its own affairs and take orders from the German, Frenchman, Briton, Italian, Spaniard, Brazilian, Greek, Japanese and Belgian who will compose the secret executive committee in charge of the world! There will be a solitary American present, but in such matters as the Monroe doctrine, if he should vote against the majority, his vote would not count.

Nothing would be more certain than a dispute between Germany and the United States over the Monroe doctrine in case both nations should join the league of nations now projected. Germany has always flouted the Monroe doctrine whenever she dared. In the league of nations Germany would challenge the doctrine; America would first insist that the doctrine is exempt from league jurisdiction, but would be defeated on this point by Article XV, which provides that "any dispute likely to lead to a rupture" must be submitted to the council. If Germany found that the council was against her, she could force the entire assembly of the league to consider the dispute. Then it would be an open field for bribery, intimidation, bargaining and perfidy. Does any one claim that the United States could prevail over Germany in such a contest? Does any one insist that every nation of every color joining the league would be immune from the influences of fear, greed, jealousy, rivalry, hatred, etc.?

Within the last few days the representatives of the allied nations, all honorable men, have agreed to the robbery of China by her own ally, Japan. The entire United States knows this to be true. Yet, while it is tacitly agreed that some peoples do not have the same conception of the word "honor" as Americans have, it is urged that the United States shall intrust its own interests, its rights, its independence and its honor to the keeping of foreign peoples, including the Germans!



*Monday, June 23, 1919*

## Germans Are Still Enemies

THE arrangement about to be made with Germany is a war pact of enemies, not a peace between friends. The Germans are still enemies, and intend to act as enemies.

The league of nations, if adopted, will not insure peace and friendship among nations, but will merely prevent each nation from promptly and adequately defending itself.

The world is not as sympathetic and kindly as it was in November, when the fighting was suspended.

We take it that no one will dispute the first of the foregoing statements—that the Germans are still enemies. They call the allies and Americans “enemies,” and deal with them as such. They perform an act of treachery and war by sinking their surrendered fleet. They will sign the treaty with the intention of violating it or forcing the league of nations to amend or abrogate it. They are eagerly awaiting the opportunity to join the league of nations for the purpose of using the league to destroy the treaty.

As to the second statement—that the league of nations, if adopted, will not insure peace and friendship among nations—we have merely to expose the nature of the league itself to prove the point to any student of government. “There is wonderfully little genuine inventiveness in the world,” says Viscount Bryce in the “American Commonwealth,” “and perhaps least of all has been shown in the sphere of political institutions. These men (the makers of the Constitution), practical politicians who knew how infinitely difficult a business government is, desired no bold experiments.” It would be well for every American at this time to read Bryce’s “American Commonwealth.”

The projected league of nations is neither a sovereign nor a subject. It assumes to control the action of nations, yet no machinery is provided as a substitute for the action of nations. It is supposed to administer international law, yet no provision is made for ascertaining what international law is or should be. It is vaguely authorized to draw all nations into war, yet no means are provided for conducting war, financing war, or defining what each nation shall contribute. It is feeble in maintaining peace, but powerful in provoking war. It interferes with weak nations but bows to strong combinations. It prevents any nation from defending itself, but does not itself fur-



nish a prompt defense. A quick, savage thrust, like that of Germany upon Belgium, is beyond the defensive power and even beyond the imagination of the league. There is no provision whatever for meeting such an emergency.

The covenant contains a pledge by which all the members mutually undertake to defend each member against external aggression. This pledge, if in effect in 1776, would have prevented France from aiding George Washington to achieve American independence. If in effect in 1898, it would have prevented the United States from rescuing Cuba. If in effect in 1920, it will prevent the allies from compelling Germany to obey the peace terms in case the enemy, then a member of the league, resorts to treachery.

As to the third statement—that the world is not as kindly and friendly as it was in 1918—we leave to the reader's own judgment whether American interference in European affairs has made the allied nations more grateful and friendly toward the United States. We leave to the reader the question whether the allies are as strongly bound together as they were during the fighting. We leave to him the question whether Germany is any more friendly now than she was during the fighting.

Yet there is nothing pessimistic, much less despairing, in this brief survey. The situation is what might have been expected, as a result of what has been done. There is nothing hopeless in the situation so far as the United States government and American citizen are concerned. They have only to exercise patriotism and common sense, such as they have always exercised in great crises.

The mightiest force in the world is the United States. It is the only great power except Japan that is uninjured by the war. It towers far above Japan or any other empire. Its moral influence is more potent than war, its friendship is the sustenance of Europe, and its freedom from all entanglements enables it to exert more power at this juncture than all the other nations combined. If the world is to be restored, it will be by the aid of the United States. If the world goes down, it will be because the United States has blundered by leaping into the whirlpool instead of remaining on the bank and helping its drowning companions.

Americans! Be Americans, and nothing else! Do not admit into the councils of America any foreigner or combination or league of foreigners, under any pretext whatever! America now has her greatest work to do, and none but Americans can do it.

*Saturday, July 12, 1919*

### Some Treaty Provisions

WHEN the Senate begins consideration of the peace treaty it will speedily discover many provisions which are incompatible with Germany's membership in the league of nations. As the admission of Germany as a member of the league in the near future was promised by the Paris conference, perhaps as an inducement for early ratification of the treaty, there is a possibility that Germany may become a member before the Senate has completed its deliberations on the treaty. The membership of Germany is a foreshadowed fact which the Senate will not ignore, because there will be plenty of Americans to remind it of the proposed association of this nation with Germany in a "league of honor."

Germany would be admitted to the league as an equal of other nations, of course. Considering the material importance of Germany, notwithstanding her moral bankruptcy, it may be expected that she would demand a place on the council, along with the permanent five and the transient four who will constitute the inner circle. If this demand should be granted, Germany would share with the principal allied nations in the control of the world's affairs.

In that event the peace treaty would become subject to amendment in radical fashion. It is not possible to treat Germany as a world menace, to be stripped bare of weapons and placed under guard, and at the same time be admitted to partnership in a league regulating the relations of all nations.

The peace treaty regards Germany as a traitor to honor and peace, and upon that correct basis it denies to Germany the possession of an army or navy. The small military force allowed to Germany is carefully specified, and means are provided to prevent treacherous increase of the Hun armies. That policy is not pursued against any other nation. How can it be continued against Germany when Germany is admitted to membership in the league? Those provisions are an indictment of German honor and an advertisement of German treachery. They will have to be canceled entirely when Germany is declared to be honorable again and worthy of membership in the league.

The treaty denies to Germany any military or naval air forces whatever, and requires the dismantling of German aërodromes, the demobilization of the aviation personnel, the abandonment of all man-



ufacture of airplanes or air engines, and requires the delivery to the allies of all aviation equipment except a few machines to be used for locating submarine mines. No dirigible is allowed to Germany. Now, when Germany joins the league as an equal of Great Britain, will not the Huns demand the right to build dirigibles which can compete with the R-34 in honorable flights across the Atlantic? Who will be able to peer into the German soul and discover whether there is intent to build commercial machines with a view to turning them into war machines without warning?

The treaty cuts down the German navy to a contemptible degree, and thus lifts a terrible menace from the world. Article 191 is short and sweet: "The construction or acquisition of any submarine, even for commercial purposes, shall be forbidden in Germany." But the allies are not denied submarines, even for war purposes. Surely, when Germany is admitted into the league she will call attention to what will then be gross discrimination against an equal member of the league, and will then demand the cancellation of that portion of the treaty. How can the German demand be denied? It will be granted, as based upon justice, and thereupon Germany, officially found to be honorable, will be free to build submarines for war and peace purposes.

The treaty prohibits Germany from drafting men into the army, prohibits all mobilization measures, cuts down the number of military schools, and provides that no Germans shall be enrolled or become instructors in the military or naval or air forces of any other country. These provisions and all other curtailments of German military, naval and air forces are predicated upon the statement that they are made "in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations." Therefore, when Germany joins the league, the same provisions must be applied to all members of the league or else Germany must be relieved of them.

If Germany should be admitted to the league soon, the arraignment and trial of William Hohenzollern would be an anomaly. Equality in the league would forbid the casting of obloquy upon the ruler or former ruler of any nation belonging to the league. The Germans are very touchy upon the question of trying their former emperor for "a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties." These be hard words, which no member of the league should use against another member. Germany would insist upon their cancellation.



*Saturday, July 19, 1919*

## A Spokesman for Defeatism

WE HAVE been expecting some one prominent on the allied side to take the lead in advocating a policy of "conciliation" toward the Germans which, if adopted, would destroy the peace treaty, defeat the work of the allies on the battlefield and pave the way for another war against the same people who have just failed to destroy free government. This spokesman for disintegration and defeatism has now appeared. He is Gen. Jan Christian Smuts, who acquired a prominent position in Great Britain through his well-advertised loyalty to the British crown after trying to destroy it in the Boer war. Gen. Smuts was a delegate to the Paris conference from South Africa, and he signed the treaty under protest because he thought it was too severe upon Germany. His protest stands as a masterpiece of pro-German propaganda disguised as an appeal to idealism.

Now Gen. Smuts issues a "farewell" address—we hope it really is a farewell—in which he acts again as an intercessor for Germany. He asks for special consideration for the present German government, which he guarantees as perfectly honest and working in behalf of the allies by keeping down anarchy. Above all things Gen. Smuts is anxious to see Germany a member of the league of nations, although he knows that Germany has served notice through Count von Bernstorff and others that her first act if admitted to the league will be a demand for revision of the peace treaty.

Gen. Smuts draws a fearful picture of England, a small island confronted by a great nation of 70,000,000 Germans. It is calculated to frighten Englishmen, but it will not succeed. When have Englishmen been won over by appealing to fear and cowardice? They faced the Germans and gave them their bellyful of British steel. Does Gen. Smuts fear that the allies cannot or will not rally again and put down the Huns if they should run amuck? Does he think the breed of brave men has been killed off in England, France, Italy, Russia or America? If so, his sojourn outside of South Africa has not taught him much, and he may as well return to the veldt.

All of this special pleader's concern is for the Germans. He says nothing of the hardships of the French, beside which the German hardships are holidays. Germany is not devastated, nor are her

factories looted of machinery. He says not a word of Italy, which is living on insufficient rations without a possibility of recovering indemnity for the ravages by the Germans and their helpers. As for Russia, "Gen. Smuts strongly urges leaving Russia to settle her own affairs on the ground that 'a sobered soviet system may be better than barbarism, to which the present policy seems inevitably to be tending.' He declares that Russia can only be saved internally by the Russians themselves working on Russian methods and ideas. He urges the allies to leave Russia alone, remove the blockade and adopt a policy of friendly neutrality and impartiality to all factions."

In short, treat the murderers and their victims just alike. Rely upon wise bolsheviki. Help Germany, but don't help Russia. Soften the peace treaty so that Germany may recover, but never mind France, Belgium, Italy and the other allied sufferers. Let down the blockade so that the bolsheviki may import ammunition as freely as patriotic Russians. Treat all Russian factions alike because the bolsheviki are strong and should not be antagonized. Support Ebert of Germany, but don't befriend Kolchak of Russia, for fear of Lenine and Trotzky. Curry favor with your strong enemies, desert your friends, ignore your allies and put your trust in the possibility of the bolsheviki becoming "sobered."

Is that your best for the cause of the allies and of humanity and civilization, Gen. Smuts? Is that the ripe fruit of your statesmanship, your loyalty to democracy, your abandonment of all ties that are incompatible with loyalty to the allied side in this war?

It is well that Gen. Smuts' alleged influence in Paris was exaggerated, in view of what he now advocates. It is well that he is not in a position to speak officially or to commit the British empire or South Africa to the policies he outlines. The great allied powers have pledged themselves to keep Germany chained to the treadmill of expiation. They have pledged themselves to keep Germany disarmed. They have promised reparation to allied peoples. They have given their solemn pledge to aid the Russian people who are trying to throw off the bolsheviki. Everything that the allied powers have won in war or pledged in peace is attacked by this South African Boer who advertises his loyalty to the cause of the allies against Germany.

*Friday, July 25, 1919*

## United Germany, Disunited Russia

CERTAIN great political movements in Europe seem to be under German rather than allied control. Germany, at any rate, succeeds in pushing forward such movements as are advantageous to her, and the allies are either ignorant, indifferent or powerless in the matter.

We have referred several times to the integration of Germany into a single machine, first accomplished by Bismarck, nearly wrecked by William Hohenzollern II, and now undergoing repairs by the German people with the consent of the allies. It is one of the most astonishing and inexplicable facts of all time, this failure by the victorious free nations to prevent the reconstruction of the German empire. The failure to prevent the German states from unifying into an empire is a failure to prevent Germany from making another world war whenever she is physically prepared. The political machine which gives birth to all the war machinery is allowed to exist and recuperate.

Just as Bismarck labored to bring all Germany into one compact war machine, so he labored to break Russia into fragments and thus prevent her from being or becoming formidable in war. He intrigued incessantly and with marked success in many directions, keeping Russia in hot water and stirring up the revolutionary and separatist spirit whenever and wherever he could. He broke up incipient alliances between France and Russia, poisoned the Anglo-Russian relations, thwarted Russia's hopes of obtaining adequate sea outlets and promoted graft and corruption in the Russian military and naval services. Bismarck established a spy system in Russia which was almost as far-reaching as the Czar's secret police system. The German absorption of Russian finances gave promise of becoming absolute.

The late emperor succeeded in spoiling much of Bismarck's work, but not all. There were 5,000,000 Germans in Russia in 1914, with a strong grip on Russia's industrial life. The Franco-Russian alliance had been made, and King Edward's diplomacy circumvented Germany in Russia as well as elsewhere, so that when Germany started the war five years ago this month, she was already beaten on the diplomatic field.



Now, with Hohenzollern out of the way, more intelligent Huns are again at work along Bismarck's old lines. They are integrating Germany as rapidly as possible—think of the unblushing title, "President of the German empire!"—and are just as energetically disintegrating Russia. They are behind the bolsheviki, giving them all possible aid and comfort while the allies hesitate and fail to aid Kolchak. German officers are feverishly drilling bolshevik recruits and German arms are placed in their hands. German agents provocateurs are pushing forward the separatist movements in Ukraine, Esthonia, Lithuania, Caucasus, Finland and other parts of Russia.

And the allies are helping the Germans. Apparently without the slightest inquiry into the genuineness of these "revolutionary" movements the allies have recognized or are disposed to recognize the independence of the regions named, thus facilitating the German plan of unity for Germany and disunity for Germany's victims.

The alleged "republic" of Ukrainia is as purely a piece of German strategy as Ludendorff's campaign against Paris. Can it be that the allied governments have forgotten so soon the organization of Ukrainia by the Germans, the pompous reception of the Ukrainian leaders by Emperor William, his usual blasphemous imprecations against their enemies and his promise to coöperate with the Almighty in preserving their "independence?" It was a republic made in Germany for German purposes. It is now overrun by the bolsheviki, under German direction, for German purposes.

The uprisings in Esthonia, Lithuania and other Baltic regions were conceived and executed by Germans for the purpose of splitting Russia into fragments and then absorbing the fragments at leisure.

How can the world expect to see peace in Europe when the allied governments actually coöperate with Germany in preparing conditions for another war in which Germany will be more advantageously placed than in 1914? The great preventive of all this, they say, is the league of nations. How? With Germany a member, or with Germany excluded? If Germany should be a member, how long would she hesitate between good faith and a good chance to strike down France? If not a member, how could the league prevent her preparation for war when the allied governments, flushed with victory and with all power, not limited by the red tape of a league, are afraid or unable to put a stop to her machinations?

*Sunday, July 27, 1919*

## Thinking It Over

ONE of the fortunate circumstances attending the consideration of the league of nations proposal is the fact that the people are not required to decide in haste. They are free to apply their minds to the project in all its phases, to weigh the past and the present, and to make their decision without regard to the decision reached by any other nation.

Nothing is more futile than the attempt by overzealous advocates of the league to foreclose consideration of the matter by urging that other nations will be displeased or injured by delay, or may take it into their heads to offer reservations of their own if the United States should be so bold as to define the extent to which it is willing to commit itself. President Wilson is not aided in his campaign by these headlong plungers, and it is safe to say that he would prefer their silence to their speech.

Mr. Wilson is not asking the American people to snap their minds shut before they can understand the questions at issue. On the contrary, he is preparing to go before them and explain many things that are not now clear, in order that they may understand fully the reasons why he is in favor of cutting away from the traditions of the United States and embarking upon what he calls "an uncharted sea." His reasons must be of the most moving and conclusive character, for no one is better qualified to understand the depth and solidity of American traditional policies and the necessity up to this hour for maintaining American independence.

American membership in the league of nations is an American question, to be settled exclusively by Americans. The other nations can do as they please. Surely the United States can exercise the same freedom.

Many points in the covenant of the league of nations require elucidation. Just as the Constitution was scrutinized and its possible operations carefully considered, the constitution of the world league must be scrutinized. One matter barely touched upon comes to mind when the history of the Constitution is recalled. It is the question of construction. Shrewd as were the Americans of the old day, and wonderfully informed as they were in the business of government, they did not foresee the evolution by which the national government coming into being would be the judge of its own powers. This power



to construe is the power to create and the equally sweeping power to destroy the creations of others.

Applied to the league of nations, the power to construe the covenant means that no nation may successfully set up a denial of the league's judgment of its own powers. The United States might object to the league's understanding of the Monroe doctrine, but the objection would be futile unless backed by something more forcible than a vote of protest. The Monroe doctrine would be what the league of nations construed it to be, not what the United States declared it to be.

The accretion of power through the construing of the covenant would probably be extremely rapid, on account of the temporary urgency of one dispute after another, which would call for exercise of increased authority. The apparent gap between the league's power to decide and its power to enforce would be closed within a few months, in all probability. No nation within the league could stay its hand, and surely no nation outside could stop its growth.

The thought that the league will grow in power until it finally exercises absolute control over the relations of nations is at the bottom of nearly every argument in favor of the league. It is likened to a puling infant which gives promise of a glorious maturity. Gen. Smuts, in outlining the steps that should be taken in creating the league, was careful to suggest that the framework should be loose and fragile at the beginning, so that the natural reluctance of nations against yielding their independence would not be aroused into refusal to join. He was willing to trust to time, the process of accretion of power and the exclusive power of the league to fix its own limitations.

This one feature of the league deserves the careful study of Americans. Everything done must be done in good faith. If the United States joins the league it must be in a wholehearted spirit, with a desire to make the league successful in preventing wars. It is this element of good faith which shames those citizens who urge immediate and unthinking acceptance of the league on the ground that the United States could always cast it off if it should prove undesirable. There is danger also in the plausible suggestion that the league can be amended later if it should not be harmonious with American ideas. By that time the United States would not be exclusive master of its own relationships. It would have to consult other powers concerning its own action.

The only time in which the United States will ever be wholly free to decide for itself what is best to be done is the period before it joins the league of nations.



*Tuesday, July 29, 1919*

## The Case of Shantung

ADMIRERS of Mr. Taft cannot but regret that he has persuaded himself to support the indefensible provisions of the peace treaty which take a portion of China and give it to Japan. The attempted robbery of Shantung has been covered with explanations that fail to explain and excuses that do not excuse, and still through all the drapery of attempted disguise the act stands out in nakedness as a deliberate betrayal of one ally by another, who by hook and crook has obtained the assent of his associates in the deed.

Germany robbed China of the territory now forcibly held by Japan. There is no mystery about the case, and no amount of discussion concerning treaty engagements can obscure the fact that Germany did not acquire the territory by fair dealing or with the consent of the Chinese government or people. Germany did as Japan is doing now; she held a pistol at China's head and extorted from China what she desired. How idle it is to expect the civilized world to be deceived regarding Hun aggressions at Kiaochow! No one is deceived except those who think the world can be induced to believe that Germany acted honorably toward China, and that Japan is now acting honorably in acquiring German rights in China.

There are no German rights in China, and never were. If the free nations had been active and vigilant in defense of human rights, Germany could not have acted the footpad in China. If the league of nations had been in successful operation at the time, can it be imagined that it would have confirmed the robbery of Chinese territory? To believe so is to believe that the league is actually intended to further the intrigues of predatory powers against weak neighbors. The excuse for winking at the Shantung outrage is that it was necessary to do so if the league of nations was to come into existence, but no one has yet suggested that the league is to facilitate such outrages. Indeed, it is strongly intimated that the league, once established, will turn against the Japanese and compel them to restore the stolen property, notwithstanding Japan's expectation that the league will confirm what the governments creating it have seen fit to tolerate.

When Japan began war against Germany the announcement was made that Kiaochow would be turned back to China, but there was a "joker" attached to the statement, and Japan is now apparently regretful that she committed herself to any extent. In view of the

worldwide knowledge of Japanese actions in Korea, Manchuria and Shantung, is it wise to keep up the pretense that diplomatic evasions must be taken as plain truth and the plain truth itself subornly ignored? Who is so ignorant or so credulous as to believe that Japan is playing fairly with China? Mr. Taft is not, for he states that "she is a nation whose disposition to encroach upon China needs restraint." Then why not restrain her? Or, if the powers in plenary session at Paris did not have the courage to restrain Japan, they could at least have refused to become parties to an outrage upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of one of their own allies. How did they have the "nerve" to adopt Article X of the covenant, solemnly pledging themselves to guarantee one another's territorial and political integrity against external aggression, while actually violating this pledge in another portion of the treaty? Were the delegates at Paris confident that the world would not detect this treachery to the declared purpose of the league, or did they presume that the world's moral sense was so blunted that it could not tell the difference between right and wrong?

The Shantung provisions of the peace treaty are intolerable. The United States cannot honorably set its seal upon the act contemplated. To do so would be to betray its purpose in going to war and in making peace. Its intention to defend weak republics from the brutal aggression of autocracy would be a patent lie, advertised to the whole world over the signature of the President and the Senate. That cannot be. The Senate must correct this mistake before it has become the solemn act of the United States.

*Thursday, August 7, 1919*

## The Attack on Americanism

THE Americans of the United States are now entering upon a finish fight with the destructive forces that have wrecked several European nations and are now bent upon destroying the United States government.

Political and economic ideas in deadly enmity to the freedom and equality of American citizens have been thrust into this country and are now boldly attempting to tear down the structure built up by the American people. The unrest and hysteria of Europe have given birth to monstrous proposals. There is proposed a substitute for the square deal which gives all workers in America an equal standing before the law. There is proposed a plan whereby many workers shall be taxed for the benefit of a few. It is proposed that the United States shall no longer treat its workingmen alike, nor be free and independent in foreign affairs. It is proposed that a certain class of workers shall take extra profits out of the United States Treasury, and that all other workers shall stand all losses, if the railroads should not be profitable. It is demanded that the United States shall not decide for itself whether it shall maintain peace or go to war, but shall take instructions from a foreign organization.

The free will of the United States, acting in response to the independent vote of its citizens, is to be made subordinate to an internationalism having its headquarters abroad and controlling the policy of this nation.

Those are the propositions. They are ideals, theories, experiments and dreams. Yet they are pressed upon the people with the claim that the liberties of the United States are a fraud; that foreigners know better than Americans how to run this country; that capital and labor are not partners, as President Wilson described them last May, but enemies, and that capital must be driven from ownership of the railroads; that an economic revolution must be forced through which will cast aside the present industrial system of coöperation between capital and labor whereby capital gets its profit and labor gets its wage.

The railroad workers, tormented by the high cost of living, have made the mistake of espousing these economic heresies, which if adopted would do these very workers infinite harm. They have the sympathy of all other Americans in their struggle with living condi-



tions. Nothing is to be gained by any attempt by any section of the people to obtain advantage over another. The living conditions bear on all alike and the remedy must apply to all.

Infinite harm comes from hasty and ill-considered adoption of nostrums and counterfeits to take the place of tested political and economical principles. How can mankind live without work? The question answers itself, and yet the Russian bolsheviki in their abysmal ignorance are actually trying to put into effect a system which will exempt the workers from work! How can America be strong and free if it fetters itself to a foreign council in vital matters? That question ought to answer itself, and yet an attempt is now being made to compromise the independence of the United States because somebody has said that the scheme will stop wars! How can every person in this country get a square deal if his dollar is not to be permitted to earn an honest return for its owner, or if one set of workers is to profit at the expense of another set? That question ought to answer itself.

The United States government has been sorely tried in times past by enthusiasts and dreamers who thought they had found improvements upon truth and substitutes for common sense. But the United States still stands, a mighty rock unshaken by the storms of the world. It stands because it is founded upon justice and liberty. It secures to every man the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It cannot give one man strength or another man wisdom or a third man riches, but it can and does give each man a square deal so long as he gives it a square deal. In this country men are free; not free to murder the rich, as in Russia, but free to get rich and enjoy their riches after they have made them. The government cannot guarantee any man success in his pursuit of happiness, but it can and does guarantee that he shall be as free to pursue happiness as any other man. The restrictions thrown around one man here are thrown around every other man.

The United States will stand, and stand free, whether foreign nations flourish or fall. The American spirit will not surrender to the mistaken and dangerous demands for changes which would destroy the independence of the government or the equality of citizens. Americans are quick to detect political fallacies and economic blunders. They know how to govern themselves and guard their own liberties. They must and will face this situation that has arisen. They must and will annihilate the movements that would destroy America and Americanism.

*Sunday, August 10, 1919*

## The Cause and the Remedy

THERE is no denying the fact that Europe and America are linked together in the grim business of recovering equilibrium after the shock of war. No well-informed American attempts to argue that the United States can or should confine its recuperative measures solely to this country. It is conceded by everybody that the human disturbance is world-wide and that the remedy for high cost of living and other ills should be world-wide in application. Each country can do much within its own boundaries, but no country lives to itself alone.

The depreciation of money is the taproot of the economic disturbance, and this taproot has been grown in the tropical soil of debt and watered with extravagance. It is now cultivated by millions of hands that should be at work producing food and other necessities. The nations have burned up billions of real wealth and substituted for it paper money. Then they have squandered this paper money on all kinds of unnecessary enterprises. They have taught their manhood to quit work and live in great camps and fleets, without thought of providing their own food and with the spice of deadly adventure to overstimulate their minds. The nations began living on their accumulated wealth, then on their visible assets, and then on their intangible credit, and now they are oscillating between bankruptcy and another draft upon the United States. Not one of the nations lately at war, except Japan, is producing normally, although all of them, including Japan, are in dire need of food, fuel and clothing.

The American dollar has not escaped the universal depreciation. How could it, when the United States has spent \$30,000,000,000 in a war spree, of which \$10,000,000,000 represents money lent to fellow nations on the same spree? They are all honorable nations, and every one of them intends to pay its loans, to the last pound, franc, lira, ruble, peso, drachma, leu, or dinar, as the case may be. But these pounds, francs, &c., are worth very little just now in American dollars, notwithstanding the dollar may be depressed and diluted.

Worse than this, however, is the iron demand for food and fuel and clothing, which nature imposes upon the European nations. The debts, even if wiped out, would not affect the present situation. The United States has a surplus of life's necessities and must consider the best method of sharing them with stricken Europe. Americans know



that Belgians in American uniforms and fed with American food were strutting about idly in Brussels while American soldiers were at work repairing Belgian roads; they know that reconstruction in northern France is held back for various reasons; they know that British labor has nearly lost all common sense and that Russia is a maniac. Nevertheless, Americans know that Europe's millions are still sane, still industrious and still devoted to peace and liberty. Therefore Americans will stand by them and will supply them the necessities of life, in some way or other, while all nations are working out a plan of financial recovery.

The best constructive ability of the giants of American finance and industry is now called for. It is not a political or diplomatic remedy that is needed. The illness is economic and not political. This statement is proved by the fact that victor and vanquished are all affected alike. The victorious French franc is in the same boat with the vanquished German mark. Get them through safely and Europe is saved. Save the franc and you help the mark incidentally, no matter how ardently and justly you hate the Hun.

If any combination of American constructive genius can now be formed, let it be done with speed. Let the country's most resourceful and most responsible legislators, financiers and industrial and agricultural leaders get together in devising and executing a plan for putting credit behind every unit of money in the allied nations, and for tapping the dropsical American dollar. The cost of living is high when counted in abnormally cheap dollars. It will not seem so high when there is greater buying power in the dollar and less selling power in food.

President Wilson spoke a volume when he suggested that the United States should produce as much and as fast as possible. The world needs every bushel of wheat and every pig it can produce. Hence any able-bodied man or woman in this country not actually temporarily upset by shell shock is a clog on the world unless he or she is busy at productive work. Never mind the kind of work, so long as it is useful and contributory to the world's recovery. Don't stop work to criticize the Belgian or Frenchman who is temporarily off his head and idle. He will get busy, and is getting busy splendidly, all things considered. Don't stop work to worry over the stupendous task of planning and building a suspension bridge of credit across the Atlantic which will sustain the weight of the world. No single brain will accomplish that task, but all hands by keeping busy will contribute to its accomplishment.



*Monday, August 11, 1919*

## "Industrial Democracy"

A GREAT deal of humbug is spoken and written at this juncture by men who are trying to find a cure for the high cost of living. The greatest humbug of all is the statement that the present industrial system is an autocracy or an oligarchy which must be superseded by "industrial democracy." This latter term conceals the real aim, which is class autocracy. The most advanced example of what is aimed at is the proposal of the railroad workers to exclude private ownership of railroads and then grant both high wages and profits to the rail worker class, as against all other persons.

The most stupid of all wars is a war between capital and labor, for it takes no account of the nature of either. Capital is labor, and labor is capital, and neither can exist long without the other. The accumulated labor represented by capital takes various forms and is sometimes so thoroughly disguised that labor cannot recognize its kinship to it; but this is through lack of information and analysis. Subject any form of capital to chemical analysis and it can be resolved into so many parts of labor, whether its form be lands, dollars, ships, mines, factories, stocks or bonds. Even natural resources are capital only after labor has been added. Many persons make the mistake of counting a natural resource as capital independent of and not calculable in labor. Ask them the value of land in the middle of Sahara, or the cash returns on a coal mine that is never mined.

Before the days of joint stock companies, labor was individual in all its aspects. It originated, executed and marketed its product individually, and kept all the profits. It gloried in the quality of its workmanship, and prospered according to the high quality thereof. Immortal genius sprang from the midst of crowds of workmen, and there was full opportunity for the development of master architects, sculptors, painters, carvers, engravers, weavers, printers and so on. All workmanship had the stamp of individuality. Thoroughness was instinctive. The guilds of workmen encouraged excellence and promoted individuality, and as a rule did not make the mistake of cutting down production for the sake of forcing up wages.

It is impossible to go back to the day of individualism in labor, but it is possible to increase the interest of labor in its product. Just as the poorest citizen is an integral part of the nation and has his share in molding the policy of the government, so every workman

## "INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY"

should be an integral part of the enterprise in which he is engaged. Accumulated labor, called capital, makes a mistake when it does not make day labor, or capital in the making, a co-sharer in its enterprise. Whatever the enterprise, it is a manifestation of labor, usually in the two forms of "capital" and "day labor." These two in logic have identical interests and identical rights according to their contribution. They should have these interests and rights in practice.

One of the strong and prosperous corporations of the United States advertises that 90 per cent of its employees are stockholders. What about the other 10 per cent? They are a source of weakness. We believe the day is near when every joint stock enterprise will make each workman a stockholder at the time he joins the company's force, and increase his holdings as he lengthens his labor.

Skill will be necessary to work out the details of stock ownership whereby all interests will be equally treated according to their past and current contribution. But Americans have skill and will find the true proportions. The objection that workingmen are too migratory to be suitable stockholders in a settled enterprise is not a valid objection, for stock transfers can be quicker than any workman's movements. The ownership of stock would be the most powerful influence imaginable in arousing the company loyalty of a workman and inducing him to stay in one place and accumulate "capital"—that is, hoarded labor.

Strikes, bolshevism, foolish talk, violent threats and mutual imputations of dishonesty and heartlessness are not the roads toward "industrial democracy." They lead to poverty. It is high time that capital and labor should apply patient intelligence to the problem that affects them alike.

*Tuesday, August 12, 1919*

## The Allies and Russia

THE allied governments, after repeated promises to extend aid to loyal Russians and repeated failures to keep these promises, now admit the virtual collapse of Admiral Kolchak. He did not have guns, ammunition or food supplies sufficient to hold Omsk, and has fallen back 200 miles. The bolsheviki are jubilantly celebrating what they claim to be an overwhelming victory and are preparing to attack Gen. Denikine in great force.

The allied governments are trying to break the news gently to the peoples. As much blame as possible is thrown upon Admiral Kolchak, and every effort is made to conceal the failure of the allies to assist Kolchak.

So the elements of destiny are at work to involve the United States and all nations in another war. The mystery of it is insoluble. Deep and malignant forces are at work—there is no other explanation of the paralysis of the United States, France, England, Italy and Japan at the moment when every fact, every circumstance and every advantage should spur them to activity on a gigantic scale in aid of the loyal Russians. The leaders of the allied nations know very well that failure to assist the Russians to recover their country means German control of Russia and another tremendous war. It is not ignorance that robs the allies of their power and exhibits them as vacillating nations, afraid of the bolsheviki and treacherous to the anti-bolsheviki. There is some other influence at work, more powerful than the instinct that cries out in behalf of the deserted Russians.

The truth must be faced. Germany is escaping from defeat and working toward a position of advantage. The bolsheviki are doing the devil's work with Germany's expert help and without allied hindrance. The allies, by holding out false hopes to Kolchak and other Russian leaders, and by overtures which plainly proved their fear of Lenine, have actually assisted the bolsheviki rather than the loyal Russians. In helping the bolsheviki they have helped Germany, and to that extent they have nullified the Paris treaty and opened the door of war.

Germany has made rapid strides in the field in which she is so conspicuously superior to the allies—the field of intrigue and propaganda. The allies have botched every move they have made in Russia,



without exception, while the Germans have extricated themselves with marvelous skill from the seemingly fatal trap which Marshal Foch sprung upon them. From the hour Marshal Foch was superseded by diplomatic authority the allies have blundered and squandered away their victory, but more notably in Russia than elsewhere. They took the heart out of all loyal Russians by their Prinkipo proposal, their backing and filling in Siberia and Archangel and their violation of their signed pledge, made only a few weeks ago. It is an astounding exhibition of timidity, confusion and failure.

Fifty-six years ago the United States was in the throes of civil war, and Abraham Lincoln saw the nations of Europe preparing to take the step that probably would have destroyed the Union. He sought the friendship of Russia, and found it. If Russia had acted in concert with France and England, as was proposed by France, the American Union would have been compelled to fight Europe as well as the Southern States. Lincoln gave notice that he would fight, lion-hearted as he was; but we may imagine the relief with which he heard the news from St. Petersburg, to the effect that Russia would not join the other nations against the government at Washington.

Secretary Seward wrote as follows to Bayard Taylor, chargé d'affaires at St. Petersburg, on December 23, 1863: "In regard to Russia, the case is a plain one. She has our friendship, in every case, in preference to any other European power."

Those were not light words, but were based upon a gratitude deeper than words. Secretary Seward knew that a Russian fleet had remained in New York harbor, and a Russian squadron in San Francisco, ready to act as Lincoln desired in case of European interference with the American struggle. The facts were well known at that time, but there is an old saying that "republics are ungrateful."

May the day never come when the American people forget the friendship shown for them by Russia and the Russian people in the dark days of this nation! May the hour be at hand when the American people may show, by practical action in behalf of Russia, that their gratitude is not a thing of words!

*Wednesday, August 20, 1919*

## A Momentous Conference

**N**EXT to the peace treaty itself, the most important document before the American people is the transcript of the conference between the President and the Senate committee on foreign relations. The revelations contained in this report are of profound and far-reaching consequence, which will shake the confidence of Americans in other nations and probably induce the average citizen to look with suspicion upon the arrangement made at Paris for the leaguings of the nations.

President Wilson's acknowledgment that certain leading allied powers deceived him is an astounding revelation. His countrymen will stand solidly behind him in resenting the action of certain allies in concealing from him numerous secret bargains at the very moment when they were solemnly agreeing to his proposal to make peace openly, honorably and justly. These allies had already made their arrangements when they agreed to his plan. Their signatures to the armistice agreement and their acceptance of the fourteen points were therefore deliberately intended to mislead the President and the people of the United States.

That is the most important fact that has been disclosed since the armistice was signed. It affects the action of the United States hereafter, not merely on this treaty and this proposed league of nations, but in its relations with certain European nations.

This revelation does not make for international confidence, concord or peace. It will lend color to the sinister intimation of a senator at yesterday's conference, that other secret treaties are in existence, made during or after the Paris conference. The American people are also very apt to ask what the signatures of certain allies on the league of nations are worth, if the principles of the league were violated in their making.

In his welcoming address the President laid stress upon the opinion that the league council's recommendation or conclusion "is only advice in any case. Each government is free to reject it if it pleases." That is quite understandable, standing by itself, but it becomes utterly unintelligible when the reader goes further and finds the President saying, in reply to a question by Senator Knox, that if an occasion should arise in which it was perfectly obvious that external

## A MOMENTOUS CONFERENCE

aggression against some power could only be repelled by force of arms, the United States "would be under an absolutely compelling moral obligation" to participate.

Much was said about moral and legal obligations, but no doubt all present would agree that they were wasted words, because any treaty obligation of the United States is a moral obligation, and as President Wilson properly said, is of greater binding force than a mere legal obligation. Hence, when the President tells senators that the United States would be under an absolutely compelling moral obligation to go to war if war should be the only means of protecting any nation against external aggression, he destroys entirely the other statement that the league council's "advice" may be waved aside by any nation as having no binding force.

Article X, then, the heart of the league of nations, absolutely and compellingly binds the United States to go to war to protect the territorial integrity and existing political independence of every nation in the league.

In view of the revelations concerning the double dealing of the allies in their relations with the United States, it may be questioned whether a majority of Americans will now be willing to lend the resources of this nation to defend all the nations of the world.

In his address to the committee the President emphasized the importance, in his opinion, of prompt ratification of the treaty for the sake of putting industry and finance on an even keel again. This is a highly important matter, which should not be delayed for a single day unless something still more important warns the American people that they should be careful in what they do. Does this revelation of the allies' bad faith—to speak plainly—serve as such a warning? If so, the economic needs of the country will perforce be held subordinate to the necessity of keeping the United States independent and capable of controlling its own action in dealing with nations that have no compunctions in deceiving this government whenever it is to their interest to do so.



*Saturday, August 23, 1919*

## The Fundamental Issue

NO AMOUNT of discussion has been able to conceal the fundamental question underlying the proposal that the United States shall join the league of nations. This question is whether the United States shall continue to exercise complete and exclusive control over its policies in dealing with other nations, or whether it will bind itself to relinquish that control in case of any disputes that may lead to war and in other cases in which it is called upon to defend other nations from external aggression.

The essence of the issue is the control of the will of the United States. Shall that control be in America, exercised exclusively by and for Americans, or shall it be transferred to a council of representatives of foreign governments?

There can be no dodging of this issue in the final test. The league of nations depends upon the actuality of America's surrender of its free will. If the United States retains its unrestricted control of its own policy, the league of nations will not survive. Its existence depends upon the vitality which it can draw from this and other nations. As the United States overshadows all other nations at this time, the denial of a vital flow of lifeblood from the veins of this country into the veins of the league means that the league will perish.

The proposed treaty of alliance with France is a concrete example of the attempted mortgage of the free will of the United States in a vital concern. It provides that the United States shall immediately go to the support of France in case of unprovoked aggression by Germany. The President has said that this treaty merely provides for expediting the action that the United States would be bound to take in any event under the covenant. We do not pause to dwell upon the tweedledum and tweedledee of "morally bound" and "legally bound," for if the United States makes any promise at all it makes it in good faith.

Now, is France or the United States the best judge of the time, manner and extent of American assistance in case of need? We hold that France is infinitely better assured of the support of the United States without a treaty than with one. A treaty limits the parties, while friendship spurns limitations and is proud of extending its bestowals beyond all expectations. France did not expect to see 2,000,000 American soldiers on her soil fighting in her behalf, but they

went there eagerly and not in obedience to any treaty. A treaty would have given politicians in France an opportunity to make capital of the alliance and to shirk their own duties and responsibilities.

France was asked once to commit herself in advance to a certain plan for helping the Poles, who had shed blood in her behalf. She decided that she could best befriend the Poles by reserving to herself entire freedom of will and action. The incident is well set forth in Lamartine's address to a deputation of Poles, in 1848, when Lamartine was minister of foreign affairs in the newly-created provisional government of the republic. The address may be found at page 187 in volume VII of "The World's Famous Orations," of which William Jennings Bryan was editor-in-chief. Lamartine said:

"France owes you not only good wishes and tears, but moral and eventual assistance in return for the Polish blood with which you have bedewed every battlefield in Europe during our great wars. France will pay her debt; rely on that; trust to the hearts of thirty-six millions of Frenchmen. Only leave to France that which exclusively belongs to her—the season, the moment and the form, of which Providence shall determine the choice and suitability to restore you without aggression or bloodshed to that place which is your due in the catalogue of nations. \* \* \*

"The provisional government will not suffer its policy to be changed by a foreign nation, however great the sympathy that may be inspired. Poland is dear to us, Italy is dear to us, all oppressed peoples are dear to us, but France to us is dearer than all, and the responsibilities of her destinies and possibly those of Europe rest with us. \* \* \*

"We as Frenchmen have not to consider the interests of Poland alone; we have to consider the universality of that European policy which corresponds to all the horizons of France. \* \* \*

"On the day when it shall seem to us that the moment has arrived for the resurrection of a nation unjustly effaced from the map, we shall hasten to its assistance. But we have reserved to ourselves that which pertains to France alone—the choice of time, justice and the reasons which would make it our duty to interfere."

After many years France was able to join in extending the kind of assistance necessary to restore Poland to independence. She could not have done this before, even if required to do so by the most solemn treaty. The result of an attempt to act at the wrong time might have been the destruction of France without helping Poland.



*Thursday, August 28, 1919*

## The Nature of the Treaty

**A**FTER the beaten Germans asked for an armistice on the basis of certain suggestions made by President Wilson, the allied and associated powers sent representatives to Paris to draw up a treaty. Ostensibly the allied governments agreed to the fourteen points as the basis of the treaty, with one reservation (the question of freedom of the seas); but as a matter of fact some of the allies had already secretly agreed upon peace settlements, and they concealed their settlements from the United States and from the personage who was the author of the fourteen points. Among the matters secretly agreed upon was the taking over by Japan of German acquisitions in Shantung, China, without consulting China. Another secret arrangement practically divided the Turkish empire among certain powers; another disposed of the German possessions in Africa and in the Pacific.

The President of the United States and the Secretary of State have advised the Senate that they knew nothing of these secret agreements until after they had arrived in Paris to begin the work of open conferences looking toward peace with Germany and justice to all nations.

A treaty was drawn up in which the powers, including those which had failed to keep good faith with the United States, agreed that there should be a new system of leagued nations, in which secret agreements would be abolished, disputes arbitrated, armaments reduced, and other steps taken to make peace perpetual and automatic. And then, in the same document, these powers enforced upon the American representatives the secret bargains previously made, including the Shantung infamy, the partition of Germany's possessions without reference to America's rights or wishes, the distribution of Turkey's territory to the powers secretly agreeing thereto, etc. The powers also prevented the transfer to Poland of Danzig, and otherwise nullified the fourteen points. They arranged that reparations should be made by Germany to the extent determined by an allied commission which should operate far into the future, entirely without reference to the much-advertised new international organism that was to regulate the world. Thus the principal task that could be performed by a genuine practicable international league was denied to the Paris league of nations.



## THE NATURE OF THE TREATY

Now that treaty is before the Senate, and the Senate and the people are told that the utmost haste is necessary in ratifying it; that Europe will collapse unless the United States accepts the treaty exactly as written. The people of Europe were told that the United States demanded the league of nations, and now the people of the United States are told that Europe demands it. If the European allied governments desired the league of nations, why did they write into the treaty their rejection of its authority over reparations? Why did they first make sure of apportioning out the territory of the defeated empires, by secret treaties, instead of trusting the league to make just disposition of the territories?

The fact is that the European allies took exceeding good care to look out for themselves at all stages of the diplomatic game. They have divided up the enemies' territories according to their own secret arrangements, and have rewarded Japan by giving her a slice of an ally's territory, there not being enemy possessions in Asia sufficient to satisfy the Japanese.

Open diplomacy was nullified at Paris. Just distribution of territory was mocked. The world-wide application of the league of nations idea was nullified. Equality of nations in the league was destroyed by giving a certain empire six votes while all other nations have only one vote each. The rights of small nations were ignored in many cases, and the proper demands of many peoples to be granted separate national existence were made to appear as criminal conspiracies.

The people of the United States are asked to accept this arrangement without scrutinizing it. They are told that it will bring peace to the world. They are asked if they wish to jeopardize the world's peace by insisting upon changes which, while they would safeguard the rights, independence and honor of the United States, would delay ratification. Official admission is made that certain secret bargains embodied in the treaty are unconscionable and were forced upon the American delegates, but the people are asked to sanction these wrongs by affixing the name of the United States—the United States, the champion of justice, the defender of liberty, the rescuer of free nations! Finally, the people are asked to deliver over the free will of their country to a foreign organism, made up in such manner as to give a preponderance of power to the very nations which concealed from the United States the secret treaties which outrage the spirit of American fair dealing.

*Monday, September 1, 1919*

## Is the United States Kept Safe?

**I**S THE United States the only great nation that is to be forbidden to safeguard itself before joining the league of nations?

The British empire very properly looked after its own interest before committing itself to the league. It eliminated from President Wilson's fourteen points all reference to "freedom of the seas," and neither the treaty of peace nor the league of nations covenant contains any restriction upon the size or operations of the British navy. England is as free now as she ever was to build a fleet stronger than that of any other nation. Moreover, the rules which President Wilson was to insist upon for the free use of the seas in time of peace have been abandoned. The league of nations contains absolutely no guarantee for the free navigation of the seas. Finally, the British empire made itself doubly sure of protection by securing six votes in the league of nations against one vote of any other empire, kingdom or republic.

France very properly took guarantees before joining the league, and her chamber of deputies is now questioning whether these guarantees are sufficient. France insisted that the Saar valley should be hers; that the reparations exacted from Germany should be under control of a commission not responsible in any manner whatever to the league of nations; that the United States and Great Britain should pledge themselves to go to her defense in case of another attack by Germany; and that neither the United States nor Great Britain should be released from this pledge except by consent of the council of the league. This consent must be reached by unanimous vote in the council, and inasmuch as France is a perpetual member, the arrangement simmers down to a pledge which binds this nation forever, or at the pleasure of France.

Japan took pains to secure what she wanted before agreeing to the league of nations, and then she made sure that the covenant of the league would guarantee her undisturbed possession of what she had taken. The treaty of peace not only gives Japan an opportunity to hold and exploit the richest province of China, but the league covenant requires the United States and all other countries to support Japan if China should attempt to recover her province.

Italy's status is still to be determined by the treaty with Austria. She is the only great power represented at Paris that has not secured



advantages in the league of nations at the expense of the United States.

Great Britain's advantages are gained at the expense of American freedom of commerce on the seas. France's advantages are gained at the expense of American freedom of action by creating a perpetual alliance. Japan's advantages are gained at the expense of America by drawing this country into support of an aggression that will almost surely result in war.

Thus, of the five great powers represented at Paris—America, Britain, France, Italy and Japan—three of them have secured what they desire and are safe, in or out of the league. If the league project fails, they have gained their objects. If the league project succeeds, the league cannot undo what has been done, but must function in such a way as to support the advantages gained by the three nations in question.

Two other great nations were not represented in the Paris conference—Germany and Russia. The first is to become a member of the league of nations, if the project is accepted. In that case Germany, as an equal partner of other nations (except the British empire, which has six votes) will be free to propose amendments to the treaty of peace, designed to ease the burden imposed upon Germany. The league will be compelled to consider the subject if Germany insists. Thus the entire peace treaty will be reopened, if the league project should be adopted. The allies will be unable to take any step thereafter without Germany's consent.

Now, strangest of all, the most populous white nation is entirely excluded from the treaty and the league of nations. There is no adjustment or plan of adjustment for Russia. That mighty nation is left out of the calculations which are proclaimed to be an ideal settlement of the world's difficulties and a sure means of preserving world peace!

Did the Paris conference count upon Russia as a friend or an enemy? Or did it think it could merely close its eyes and thus eliminate Russia from the scheme of things? What a picture is prepared for the future, when a council of nine gentlemen is to sit at Geneva and be required to control a volcano extending from the Baltic and Black Sea to the Pacific!

The question for Americans to determine is this: Is the United States made safe and kept safe in the proposed settlement of the world? Look into this matter, Americans!



*Tuesday, September 2, 1919*

## Our First League of Nations

AMERICANS are the only persons who may be depended upon to guard the interests of the United States in connection with the proposed league of nations. If Americans do not look after their country's rights and interests, no one will. The citizens of other countries are doing their best to further the interests of their respective countries, without regard to the interests of the United States. Throughout the world there is manifest a disposition to gain advantages, and the liberality of the United States has been outrageously exploited and abused.

The covenant of the league of nations was not written by Americans or by any persons familiar with the American Constitution. The structure of the league is antagonistic to the structure of the United States government. One must be altered to adjust it to the other if both are to exist. Which shall be altered? The one that has been tested for a century and found efficient in securing liberty to Americans, or the one that is experimental, untested and unsuitable to American methods of government?

Many superficial students of American history jump to the opinion that the proposed league of nations is a step forward in the world arena exactly similar to the step taken by the United States when it adopted the Constitution. They point to the opposition to the Constitution in 1787 by many well-known men, and suggest that the present critics of the league of nations are equally mistaken. The truth is, however, that the Constitution was adopted as a cure for a state of affairs closely resembling that which would exist under the proposed league of nations. The American States were leagued together in Articles of Confederation which, like the proposed league of nations, attempted the impossible task of leaving to each State its full sovereignty and yet subjecting it to a central authority. The States sometimes obeyed the Continental Congress, but more often disobeyed it. When Congress was not in session the government was carried forward by an executive committee consisting of one delegate from each State, an arrangement resembling the council of the proposed league of nations. In Congress each State had one vote, and at least nine of the thirteen votes were required before even the smallest step could be taken. This provision, which resembles the league of nations plan, nearly prevented the American people from

gaining their independence, as it took away the power of the States without substituting another effective power.

The Articles of Confederation could not be amended except by unanimous vote—a provision like that of the league of nations. This provision finally caused the people of the United States to abolish the league and adopt in its place a real Constitution which would establish a real government with all the attributes of sovereignty. From the hour the American league of nations was abolished and a real super-government established there has been liberty and security in the United States. A super-government over the States was made possible by the homogeneity of the people and the compactness of the country. The people were all Christians and were accustomed to one language, one system of laws and one standard of living. From Massachusetts to Georgia they were one people. Hence, when they abolished their unworkable league of nations and created a single central Federal republic, they were crowning the system under which they had lived and moved.

The proposed league of nations goes directly contrary to the successful experience of the American people. It would bleed the sovereignty of the American Union as the Articles of Confederation bled the States, without giving strength or security in return. Instead of creating an effective central government of the world, which is the only imaginable improvement upon the effective central government of the United States of America, the authors of the league have made the mistake made by the authors of the Articles of Confederation of attempting to reconcile the sovereignty of independent nations with the sovereignty of a league. It cannot be done. Either the nations will remain sovereign and scoff at the league whenever they please, or the league will become sovereign and extinguish the independence of the nations.

What will Americans decide now? Will they see the facts as clearly as their forefathers saw them in 1781-87, or will they yield to clamor and join a league of which they know nothing except that it is inconsistent with the American system of maintaining independence and liberty?

*Monday, September 15, 1919*

## **America's Steadying Power**

ONE of the most significant facts in the world at this time is the steady power of American common sense. "The world is suffering from shell-shock," said Mr. Lloyd George recently. It is an apt saying, except that it must not be applied to the United States. This nation has escaped the shock which has made all European nations stagger and sent some of them into delirium.

Take the United States from the situation and the heart would be appalled at the spectacle of empires and republics lying prostrate or shaken nearly to pieces, so badly demoralized that they are unable for the time being to resume their normal life. The Four Horsemen have ridden roughshod over them, and the sight of the specters has shaken their nerve. Individuals and governments are fumbling and mumbling over old things that are past and never to be again, or slowly spelling out the meaning of new things that are still partly hidden. There are nations in Europe which are actually stunned by the advent of a freedom that is as normal and commonplace to an American as the air he breathes. The mind of millions of Europeans finds difficulty in responding quickly to the new rule of life. It lapses into instinctive prostrations before ancient and now obsolete autocratic authority, or it bursts wildly into excesses of license and anarchy. Very few newly established free governments in Europe are yet in the equilibrium between anarchy and despotism. They are oscillating violently and may have severe accidents before they find and keep the middle of the road.

Above the chaos and smoke of Europe looms America, as solid as earth and as serene as heaven. It is a figure bathed in light, visible from every quarter, sending out hope and confidence to every nook and corner of the world. The peasants on the Russian steppes see the western glory and are patient. The stricken ones, whose wrists are still galled by Hohenzollern and Hapsburg thongs, are not overcome by their surrounding hardships when they see the light of liberty. The nations of Europe look upon their lusty comrade across the Atlantic and take fresh courage. In the eyes of hundreds of millions in the Old World the figure of the United States is a literal Goddess of Liberty, whose war strength is destruction and whose peace strength is justice itself.



No individual since the creation of mankind has had more reason to be proud than the citizen of the United States—any citizen, for all are equal. To be an American is an honor that makes any man greater, no matter how richly nature may have endowed him. No American has ever exhausted the possibilities of honor which reside in American citizenship. He is a partner in humanity's most marvelous achievement, and a beneficiary in a system that has had no parallel for perpetuating justice and freedom. The greatest of men have been made more noble by reason of being Americans and partaking of the immensity and freedom of America. George Washington was a natural chief of men, but he delighted to be the equal of Americans. Abraham Lincoln was sublimely great, but his greatness found plenty of room in America. These immortals were pure and humble of heart, who wore greatness naturally, as a familiar cloak. They lived, worked and died as Americans, and under God they worshiped nothing but their country. Their eminence as builders and preservers is perpetual, because they devoted themselves solely to America. They are revered by humanity by reason of their service to all humanity in founding and saving the American republic.

At this troublous time, when the world is shaking with the retreating thunders of war and stupefied by the hardships of want and famine, it is fortunate for mankind that the American people are absolutely free, normal and prosperous. The United States is as free as George Washington or Abraham Lincoln to think and act nobly in behalf of humanity. The brain of this nation is clear. The heart of the nation is pure. The American brain, directed by the American heart, will work wonderfully for the quick salvation of the world. The first requisite is unshackled freedom of will and action. There must be no restriction upon American purposes in befriending the world. This nation cannot do its best when it is hampered by the ignorant advice of aliens or bound by ill-considered obligations which limit and misdirect its powers.

America must direct America. There is no other prompt and sure method of aiding the world to recover and be free.

*Saturday, September 27, 1919*

## The Cause of Wars

THE peace conference at Paris, which has put forth two treaties of peace and is about to put forth two more, is demonstrating to the world the fatal character of the departures from right and justice which the allies have made. A war is developing in the Adriatic which threatens to involve the United States—the United States, a nation whose very existence has been perpetuated by avoidance of Old World complications. Another war is brewing in the Orient, which also threatens to involve the United States. A third war, of stupendous portent, is growing out of the failure of the allies to rescue the Russian people from the grasp of Germany. This war will, of course, involve the United States.

The root of the failure at Paris goes down to the infected soil of secret diplomacy. When the statesmen assembling at Paris began their secret bargaining they threw away the victory over Germany. That fact is now beginning to appear in naked and terrible outlines, as people after people become involved in the broils resulting from failure and injustice at Paris. The strangest figure of all is the United States, a nation that never before participated in secret treaties, whose dealings with other nations were always an open book, and whose treaties were always submitted to the Senate and made public. Now, through processes which the people do not understand, the United States is involved in Russia, in the Adriatic, in China and in Africa, with no prospect whatever of withdrawal before the shedding of the blood of Americans in strange quarrels.

The supreme council at Paris was charged with the duty of making an effective peace by imposing its own terms upon a powerless enemy. The council had the world's triumphant power concentrated in its hands. It held the power of life and death over nations. It was not restrained by instructions, for it was composed of the individuals who originated instructions. It was not amenable to any written constitution. It made its rules as it went along. It defined its own limitations and laid down its own principles of action. As a creator is greater than its creature, so the conference was greater than a league of nations.

Yet, when the test came, this all-powerful body proved a failure, as time is now revealing. It failed because it feared the peoples

and presumed to set itself above them in wisdom and virtue. It dared not submit to the peoples of the world a daily complete record of its doings, because those doings would not bear the light of truth and justice. Those doings consisted of bargainings over secret treaties made before and during the war, which actually transferred peoples about as though they were chattels, exactly as President Wilson declared would never be tolerated again.

In the course of this bargaining all the victorious powers became involved, the United States included. Thus, a secret treaty required the powers to sanction the mutilation of one of their own allies. Lacking the courage to trample down that infamous secret bargain, the conference accepted it, and for all time wrote itself down the betrayer of China. Lacking the courage to go forth and befriend the Russian people, who had suffered 65 per cent of the death losses of the allies, the conference actually proposed to meet the slayers of Russia, with a view to making such a peace with them as would leave them in control of their spoils. Confronted with a dilemma arising from an effort to reconcile two irreconcilable "peace points," the conference denied to Italians the right to live under the Italian flag. Finally, overwhelmed by problems caused by the conflict between justice and secret treaties, the conference dumped a dozen incipient wars into an article of the peace treaty, by providing that a league of nations should become sovereign over territory conquered from Germany, Turkey, Austria and Bulgaria. The nations anxious to gain control over these enemy territories are now beginning the process which ends in war.

Europe's policy of saying one thing and doing another is Europe's concern. If Europe wishes to talk of open diplomacy and continue the practice of making secret treaties, let Europe do so. If Europe has made secret treaties intended to offset the provisions of the proposed league of nations, there is no means whereby Americans can even know of the act, much less prevent it. But Americans can keep the United States out of the intrigues, broils, enmities and wars resulting from secret bargains, if they wish to do so.



*Sunday, October 5, 1919*

## The Anglo-Persian Treaty

NO ONE who has given even superficial attention to the treaty between Great Britain and Persia, signed August 9, can fail to see that the British government has willingly or unwillingly dealt a blow to the proposed league of nations. Before the ink was dry upon Great Britain's ratification of the peace treaty, and indeed while the British parliament was discussing the covenant, the negotiations at Teheran had reached the point where the independence of Persia was surrendered and the control of the nation transferred to British hands.

It is highly probable that the change will be greatly beneficial to the Persians from a material point of view—that is not the point. Nor is it exactly to the point to say that the stabilization of Persia is a necessity to the British empire, as one of the London journals explains the case. There will be critics of this matter who will object to the treaty on various grounds. It is not the purpose at this time to suggest objections to the treaty except in its bearings upon the league of nations. If it is incompatible with the league of nations it becomes a question of interest to the United States, which is asked to become one of the pillars of the league that is to prevent the extinction of the independence of nations.

Why could not Persia become a patient of the league of nations? Why should one nation take charge of Persia, when a syndicate of nations is about to be formed to attend to such cases? If Persia is a burden, the hard-pressed Britons should not be required to carry it alone; and if control of Persia is profitable, the benefits should go into the slender stock of resources of the league of nations. The British newspapers put forth somewhat conflicting statements on the question. The Times says "there were many reasons why Great Britain alone was in a position to render her the further help she needed," and that there will be a "modest loan" to Persia, while Great Britain will supply expert advisers for the various departments of the Persian administration, besides furnishing officers, munition and equipment for the Persian army. The London Post suggests that the services of British troops during the war "entitle this country to some recognition," as though the burden of administering Persia were an advantage. Moreover, says the Post, "one has only to look at a map of the middle East to see the vital importance of Persia to the British

empire." "It would have been sheer madness," it adds, "on the part of Great Britain had she failed to respond to the overtures from Teheran. She is, further, the only allied power which marches with Persia."

The extent of British control over Persia may be gathered from perusing the brief but all-comprehensive treaty. It is similar in scope to the control which Japan proposed to China in the "twenty-one demands," although the economic features do not appear in the Anglo-Persian compact. Although the Persian treaty speaks of categorical acknowledgment of the independence of Persia, the provisions, if carried out in good faith, make it impossible for Persia to remain independent. An attempt to throw off British advice and guidance would be a gross violation of the treaty, so gross as to give Great Britain ample cause for enforcing her rights.

Persia has been invited to become a member of the league of nations. Will she join the league, and if so, will she attempt to act as an equal among independent nations, or will the Anglo-Persian pact be abrogated by mutual consent, in accordance with the provisions of Article 20 of the covenant? All nations contemplating membership in the league of nations are interested in the peculiar questions which are thrust forward by the treaty between Great Britain and Persia, for around these questions are grouped the rights of all nations.

This treaty, incidentally, exhibits the chaotic conditions in Europe, where widely differing proposals are made for the rescue and maintenance of nations as weak or weaker than Persia. Not all of these weak nations can call upon the British empire to come in and stabilize them.

*Friday, October 10, 1919*

## The Future of France

**T**IME and nature are doing more for Europe than man and treaties. The treaty of peace is in shreds in several places, even before it is ratified. The peoples in several countries are wilfully idle, even in the face of starvation. But time is filling breaches in the walls, and nature is covering blasted places with vegetation. Men's memories are short for good and long for evil, and they return slowly and ineffectively to the full shifts of peaceful labor. While they hesitate they run the chance of starvation, for no law will make loaves of bread.

Time will wear out men's memories. They will quit dwelling upon their injuries and the hideous outrages of the war. Their children will tell them to cease the recital of old wrongs. The new generation will be on the side of time and nature in hastening full recovery. Already this process is evident in some of the devastated places, where a new spirit is evident in the younger element, a spirit resembling the eager energy of American plainmen and goldseekers. Nature, too, is doing wonderful work, somewhat harshly here and there, but on the whole mercifully. The unfit and the wasted ones, worn to death, are taken away, while the strong and fit are nourished to maturity. The fields gashed by war are undergoing a mellowing chemical treatment which will make them fruitful again, sooner than the despairing natives had imagined to be possible.

If the treaty is enforced even roughly as its main terms provide, France will become the towering nation of all Europe. There is no limitation upon the military strength that France may amass, while Germany's military strength is limited and placed under the regulation of the allies. Assuming that the treaty will remain in effect and be enforced, France will always be able to administer a killing check to German military plans. Whether France will be vigilant enough in gathering information of the treacherous Hun's real plans, and stern enough to repress them remains to be seen, but the power to do this is placed in France's hands by the treaty. The league of nations cannot interfere, for the commission to be in control of Germany will not be under the jurisdiction of the league of nations.

Statesmanship of the highest order, more far-seeing and more energetic than France has ever seen, is now required for the guidance of that nation if its possible destiny is to be fully experienced. The



French people have before them a splendid vista of national glory. They have full opportunity for the development of their unique genius in science and art. Under the French flag there is more territory than under the Stars and Stripes. This colonial empire is capable of producing immense wealth, with corresponding benefit to the whole world if intelligently developed.

Although a frightful loss of young French manhood has been inflicted, the nation can recuperate quickly if its people can fully grasp the meaning of the situation in which France finds itself. The nation is virile, with unconquerable vitality and possessed of robust and homely qualities that make for sanity, prosperity and long life. There is no reason why the population of France should not increase at a satisfactory rate, counting the increment of foreigners who will invigorate the nation, the better economic conditions following national predominance and the inspiration that victory and glory ought to instill in every French heart.

The victory opens up tempting roads toward militarism which France would do well to avoid. Already there is evident a rapid growth of the imperialist spirit in the groups that have been concerned with the protection and extension of French interests abroad. In Africa, Asia Minor, eastern Europe and in the Adriatic region the French military elements are quite as active and ambitious as the best interests of France could require. The earnest differences between France and Great Britain over the disposition of Syria do not reveal any infirmity of purpose on the part of France. Readjustments in Africa have given the French army officers new fields of activity, and without doubt that continent will be the training ground of other generals like Leyautey, Gouraud and Mangin.

Commercially France enjoys advantages over Germany which should bring great prosperity to French importers and exporters. The basic iron and steel industry of Europe has been virtually transferred bodily from Germany to France. It has not gained its pre-war momentum, but there is reason to believe that it will become greater than ever. The regaining of the steel industry ought to make France a strong shipbuilding nation, with corresponding profit in extensions of foreign commerce. By moderation in adjusting pending questions, by avoidance of a chauvinistic spirit, and by diligent use of the natural advantages which the victory has left in her hands, France will make rapid progress toward richness and greatness far exceeding her past.

*Wednesday, November 12, 1919*

## **Saving the United States**

ONE YEAR ago today the world was rejoicing at the cessation of fighting, without counting the price that was paid to Mars for quitting his slaughter. There is not so much rejoicing now as the civilized portion of the world has been driven to the reluctant conclusion that the armistice was premature and that the peace ensuing from it is of a precarious and unsatisfactory character.

A few more weeks of fighting would have enabled the free nations to dictate their own peace to an enemy who had been forced into unconditional surrender. The basis of the armistice is now seen to have been unstable, partly because of German treachery and partly because of the inapplicability of certain ideals to the realities of Europe. Germany has taken prompt advantage of the weaknesses of the armistice and the peace treaty, and is now building up another war machine for the conquest of Europe, if possible the world. Instead of quibbling over Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar Valley, Germany is shrewdly and cold-bloodedly concentrating upon the much greater opportunities in the east. Russia is now her objective. Interior Germany is a beehive of industry, with factories resuming operations on a bigger scale than ever. Workingmen are working eight hours for themselves and "four hours for the fatherland," which stripped of the Teutonic gloss, means "four hours for preparation for revenge."

A German army is on Russian soil, while the allied armies have been demobilized. An inter-allied military mission is endeavoring to induce the German government and its army chieftains to withdraw this army and abandon the attempt to gain control of Russia, but there is little or no force behind the allied mission; hence Germany is quite apt to continue the double-dealing policy of paying apparent respect to allied "requests," while actually rejecting them.

The delay in ratifying the peace treaty has prevented the reparations commission from taking charge of affairs in Germany. This delay has been utilized by Germany with feverish energy. Stocks and machinery that belong to France and Belgium have been concealed. All kinds of assets have been whisked out of sight. The country will be a bare cupboard when the reparations commission begins its work. Then, if the commission is not actually backed by visible overwhelming force, it is a foregone conclusion that the traitors



to honor with whom the commission is dealing will resort to every species of treachery to nullify the treaty engagements made by Germany. The treaty is and will be a dead letter wherever and whenever the Germans can make it so; and in the last analysis only military force will cause them to desist.

The delay in ratifying the treaty is accounted for by the terms of the document itself. It was begun with the understanding that certain desirable principles should be followed. It was ended with the open violation of those principles. On one point after another the peace conference shifted from principle to secret bargaining, until the treaty became a mass of engagements confirming secret agreements made by the European powers without any regard whatever to the rights of peoples, and without the knowledge or consent of the United States. The American representatives, instead of repudiating these engagements and insisting upon adherence to the armistice agreements, were drawn into one pledge after another, always with the excuse that the league of nations would come into being and wipe away all stains, including the stain upon the league of nations itself.

The treaty came before the Senate, with the alternative of quick ratification for the purpose of fastening an effective peace upon Germany, or careful scrutiny for the purpose of safeguarding the honor and vital interests of the United States. The Senate chose the latter course, having satisfied itself of the inherent treachery of the German nation and of the impossibility of making satisfactory peace a certainty by the mere act of ratifying an unsatisfactory and inadequate pact.

The security of the United States, in the opinion of a majority of the Senators, became a more important matter than the questionable security of Europe. If any nation can save the world the United States must be that nation, in the opinion of the Senate majority, and for that reason the treaty will be ratified in such a manner as to insure the unfettered strength, freedom of will and action, and integrity of purpose of the United States. Then, when the test comes, as it surely will, there will be one nation at least which will stand as a tower of strength for the maintenance of free government among men.

That is the best that can be done, considering the breakdown of the high purpose of the armistice and the failure at Paris.



*Saturday, November 15, 1919*

## Relations With Other Nations

THE United States Senate has now taken such decisive action on the treaty of peace as to make a little clearer the perspective into the future. It is worth while to weigh the meaning of the Senate's action and the probable consequences that will develop from the Senate's frame of mind.

The adoption of the sweeping reservation touching Article X means more than the assertion of the right of Congress to determine how, when and where the United States shall assist other nations. It means that the United States refuses to assume any obligation to assist any other nation or to interfere in the affairs of other nations. There will be neither a legal nor a moral obligation to bolster up any country, to dictate its boundaries, to assist it to rob another country, to deprive it of its rights, to deny it the essentials of independence, to boycott and blockade it, or to assert overlordship over part of its territory, all of which the United States has undertaken or would have undertaken to do in specific cases if the reservation had not been made. The countries affected by these specific cases are Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Italy, China, Japan, Turkey, Russia, Austria and Greece. The mere mention of the complications that faced the United States because of its proposed policy of intermeddling would fill many columns.

The Senate having vetoed that policy, and having indicated its determination to adopt other reservations which complete the demolition of the structure reared at Paris, the question arises, What will be the relation of the United States to other nations?

The answer depends partly upon the Senate's conception of the duty of the United States. The reservations deal almost wholly with the duty of the United States to itself. Some of the Senators have a lively realization of the duty of the United States to other nations, and they feel that the reservations have destroyed the opportunity of this country to spend itself in service to humanity. They are now inclined to vote for rejection of the treaty. Eagerly joining them in opposition to ratification are some of the Senators who championed the reservations, because these senators opposed the treaty from every aspect. Therefore it seems quite possible that the treaty will not pass the Senate.

Behind this treaty stands another—the treaty pledging the assistance of the United States to France in case of an unprovoked attack by Germany. The French government insisted upon this treaty as a substitute for the surrender of the left bank of the Rhine, which France really desired as a guarantee of safety. Apparently the American and British delegates, determined to push through the league of nations at any cost, persuaded France to abandon her own plan of safety and accept the assurance that the United States and Great Britain would make her safe by treaties of alliance. This was all right so far as Great Britain was concerned, for Mr Lloyd George had the power to ratify such a treaty, but Mr. Wilson's assurances were always contingent upon approval by the Senate.

The proposed treaty of alliance would have to be amended in any event before it could pass the Senate, for it attempts to deny the power of the United States to abrogate a treaty without the consent of the council of the league of nations. That is one of the blunders committed by the negotiators in their haste at Paris, where they were out of touch with persons familiar with the Constitution. But it is a question whether the treaty of alliance will be ratified, even if amended, for the reason that it commits the United States to the vicissitudes of foreign politics, something which the Senate has just refused to do. With the treaty effective, French or German politicians could plunge the United States into war by a series of crimes or blunders. It seems highly improbable that the United States will ever enter into such an arrangement.

France, however, expects some assurance of assistance from the United States in case of dire need, and she should have it. The obvious step to be taken is that heretofore suggested by *The Post*, and approved by many public men: The United States should make a formal and solemn declaration that it will not view with unconcern any attack upon free government in the Old World, and will take such steps as in its own judgment are suitable to deal with such an emergency.

A declaration to that effect would have equal or greater force than a treaty of alliance with France, for it would be notice to the world that the United States will do again what it has just done in Europe, if the world's liberty and peace require such action; and that it will act in its own way, delivering its strength when, how and where it deems best.

That declaration would be for the Old World what the Monroe Doctrine is for the New World.

*Sunday, November 16, 1919*

## The Friend of France

WHILE the Senate proceeds with its program of defining and limiting the extent of American participation in the league of nations, French public opinion is sadly puzzled by what appears in Paris to be a heartless abandonment by the United States of its obligations to the allies, particularly France.

One of the clearest expressions of this wonderment comes from M. Gauvain, editor of the *Journal des Debats*. He says the question placed before the Senate was this: "Does the treaty of Versailles offer such guarantees of fairness and permanence that America, which entered the war for the liberty of the world, can accept her responsibility?" But the play of international politics, in his opinion, has changed the question so as to make it appear as follows: "President Wilson, as the chief of the Democratic party, appears to have exceeded his constitutional powers during the debates at Paris and Versailles; are we not to take this occasion and show that never again can any President commit such an abuse?" The Senate, he says, is reaching the decision to maintain the doctrine of isolation, in view of the fact that the war is over and that America possesses most of the fortune of the world.

Then the distinguished editor presents the case for France. "We regarded the President of the United States as the messenger of America," he says, "and as the holder of a mandate until he had been recalled. The treaty, be it good or bad, was constructed always in concert with—often under direction of—the representative of the United States; hence the moral responsibility of America."

Americans have heard a great deal of "moral obligation" and "moral responsibility," but they will hardly accept as binding a precedent which would commit them to any and all projects proposed by their treaty negotiators, before these projects had been made into treaties by the approval of the Senate. It is impossible for negotiators to bind the United States under the Constitution, and foreign governments and peoples are always on notice regarding the nature of the American treaty-making power. It is not a question of partisanship, as the French easily imagine. It is not a question of refusal to recognize America's duty to the world. It is not a question of capturing all the wealth of the world and then returning to a policy of isolation.



"France today is astonished," says M. Gauvain, "that no voice has been raised in the American Senate to declare that America, having been associated with the allies to win the war, cannot, without abandoning the most important part of her task, separate herself from them before peace has been achieved, before the treaty has been put into effect. A treaty without America means that the peace of the world is put in peril or destroyed in the manner already planned by Germany."

If Americans are represented by the Senate, as must be assumed by the last election and its effects, it is evident that a majority of the people of this country will not agree with the French editor that "a treaty without America means that the peace of the world is put in peril or destroyed in the manner already planned by Germany." Americans would put these questions: Does France substitute ideals for facts in such an extent as to rely upon a treaty signed by the treacherous hand of Germany, instead of relying upon the strength of France and her allies to destroy Germany in case she should attempt to execute her plans to destroy the world's peace? Is not France mistaking America's decision to maintain her independence of action for an abandonment of her duty? Is it not quite possible that America's independence of action will enable her to perform her duty to the world far more effectively than if she were entangled in the botchwork called the league of nations? Is not France placing too much reliance upon a scheme that has already been proved impracticable, and too little reliance upon the true friendship of America, which has just been sealed by the blood of Americans on French soil?

It is a serious situation that has arisen. The elections to be held in France today may be injuriously affected by the mistaken idea that America has turned its back upon the allies and that France has been left without any security against German attack. The truth is that Germany is no longer a match for France; that America is as stanch a friend of France as when the armies were fighting side by side; that the imposition of the project of the league of nations upon France on the ground that it was the will of the United States is not a good reason for imposing the league upon the United States on the ground that it is a necessity for France; that the people of the United States are alive to their moral responsibility and will not abandon it; and that if Germany in another burst of insanity should attack France the American people would move quickly to assist in annihilating the Hun, all the more quickly because they were prevented from doing a thorough job in November, 1918.

*Tuesday, November 18, 1919*

## Free Nations Getting Together

THE conditions in Europe and the relations between the United States and its European friends are becoming more satisfactory, leaving Russia out of consideration for the moment. The elections in France and Italy are most gratifying to Americans, as they reveal that strong and pure nationalism is in firm control, notwithstanding all the intrigues and boastings of the bolshevists, open and secret. France is mistress of her destiny, and Italy stands secure. That is the inspiring news that comes to encourage those Americans who are fighting to keep their country out of the meshes of an entangling treaty and free from the intrigues of Germanism and bolshevism.

An unadulterated national spirit is the best shield that a free nation can find. Instead of enfeebling its nationalism by relying upon an experiment in internationalism, each nation can best promote its welfare and maintain its security by developing its own spirit of complete independence and by keeping alive the patriotism of its people. A distinct nation, acting as a unit, has great influence in the world, even though it be small in population and feeble in war resources—witness Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece and others. A nation without strong nationalistic spirit is lacking in international influence—witness China.

The nations will have no difficulty in coöperating. There is no danger that they will fail to coöperate successfully for their common welfare, unless peradventure the entanglements and doubts in the league of nations make them all suspicious and constrain them to stand aloof from one another. They had no difficulty in coöperating during the war, when there was no league of nations. They are now having difficulty in agreeing upon the league of nations. The more they study the covenant the greater become the perplexities and the more numerous the mental reservations of each nation.

The friends of free government are glad that France and Italy have held true to their individuality and their national aspirations. In that direction lie both peace and justice. The more firmly that France determines to preserve her existence, at any cost, the more surely will it be preserved in its entirety and with fullness of prosperity. The more fixed Italy becomes in the determination to make



her own boundaries secure, the more surely will there be peace and commerce in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean.

The elections in France and Italy are a bugle call of friendship and sympathy to the hard-pressed loyalists of Russia. The Russian people are fighting desperately to recover their nationalism and to enter the family of nations under a free government of their own making. They are greatly helped by the decision of France and Italy to hold the reptile of bolshevism under the heel of law and order. Bolsheviks everywhere will hear the news with sinking hearts, for it is the death-knell of their hopes of overturning Europe and America.

It is unfortunate that the allied nations should gain the impression that the United States, in defining the nature and extent of its adherence to the league of nations scheme, is indifferent to their troubles. But this impression is the result of insufficient and misleading information. The censorship during the Paris conference accomplished wonders in separating the peoples of the Old and New World and causing each to believe that the other was demanding the league of nations, when as a matter of fact neither Europe nor the United States ever demanded or desired the league in the form in which it was foisted upon them. The European nations accepted the project because they were helpless. The United States is not helpless, but on the contrary it is strong enough to protect itself and other free nations now, as it was on the battlefield.

The European nations are wondering what will happen if the treaty with Germany should not be ratified by the United States. One thing they may be assured will happen, treaty or no treaty: If Germany should send an army against France, the United States will have an army there also. It is not the treaty that protects France; it is the blood and liberty-loving spirit of free men in France, England, America and other nations. The treaty is merely a piece of paper, a contract with—whom? The treaty bears the signature of Germans as testimony that it will be observed. Does France rely for safety upon these signatures? Does England? Very properly, each of the allied nations takes good care of its own safety, quite aside from the treaty; and the United States Senate is taking the same step with regard to the United States. The allied nations and the United States would be simple indeed if they should place their sole reliance upon a treaty with a perjured and dishonorable people who do not know the meaning of good faith, and who are now engaged in plans for violating the compact which they have solemnly promised to observe.



*Wednesday, November 19, 1919*

## The World's Money Sickness

**O**WING to unacceptable provisions in the treaty of peace against which the Senate has been compelled to shield the United States, many months have been lost which might have been used in readjusting Europe. The European nations have not been able to act independently of the treaty, and the United States has been engrossed in the struggle between those who would entangle this country in interminable difficulties and those who are determined that America shall never be governed or controlled by any one but Americans.

If the treaty had been one of peace immediately imposed upon Germany, as the military commanders expected when they agreed to the armistice, the allied and enemy nations could have proceeded forthwith to apply economical measures intended to cushion the shock of after-war conditions. But the Paris conference predicated the treaty upon a visionary project of peace based upon perfection in human nature, German nature included, with the result that there is no peace at all. Mr. Lloyd George says the German army must be dislodged from the Baltic region before there can be secure peace. The enemy is armed and is engaged in military operations which the allies do not seem to be able to prevent.

In the meantime some governments are still obsessed with the idea that they can cure an economic malady with a political nostrum, the league of nations. While the printing presses of Europe are working overtime, turning out paper money that becomes cheaper with every revolution of the press, the governments talk of throwing their burdens upon the legendary supersovereign at Geneva, consisting of nine gentlemen of as many colors, who are to be charged with the supervision of the nations.

The circulation of paper money in France is now \$1,000,000,000 (face value) larger than it was when the armistice was signed. The exact figures are: Armistice day, £1,222,828,400; September 11, £1,427,266,800. These figures are from the London Times, reporting the note circulation of the Bank of France. Is it any wonder that the franc is worth less than 11 cents? At the rate of paper money increase the franc will soon be worth no more than Villa money.

The German mark has gone down to 3 cents, with floods of paper marks issuing from the German presses in a frantic and fruitless

effort to meet the situation. The Austrian kroner is almost worthless. The Italian lira is diluted to a ruinous point. The money of several other European nations is depreciated, not excepting the British pound sterling. The British government is straining every nerve to reduce the ratio of paper money to gold, and has made a slight impression, but not enough to afford any feeling of security or to improve the value of the pound in the world's money market.

The world's gold moves by irresistible attraction to the United States, the creditor nation. As the gold reserve increases the exchange value of the dollar increases, but unfortunately, also, the temptation to expand credits increases in intensity. The tendency to speculate, to raise prices, to indulge in extravagance, and to quit work is spurred by the knowledge that there is "money to burn." Much of the unrest in the United States is psychological, due directly to the corrupting influence of too much easy money. The newly rich are squanderers, and the wage earners are demoralized by the lavish display of wealth and the slump in purchasing power of such money as they earn. The gap between the rich and poor seems to grow wider, and the vicious and ignorant elements among the poor become easy victims of criminal agitators.

The United States is the stronghold of the world. It can save the world from universal bankruptcy and barbarism, but it cannot perform its service by chasing a vision into dreamland, or by waving a juggler's wand. It can help others by first making sure of itself and its freedom of action, and then by taking charge of the situation in behalf of all the casualties among the nations. These disabled nations must soon agree to conform to a plan of relief organized and supervised by the United States. There is no time to lose, as some of the best nations are economically bleeding to death. It is up to the American people to save Europe and the world. The task is purely practical and has nothing to do with the league of nations. A few strong men have tackled the problem, but they have not yet solved it. They have had no help from the government.

When a plan for restoring the value of Europe's money is evolved and agreed upon, the world will begin to be safe for democracy and other ideals. It is not safe now.

*Friday, November 21, 1919*

### **In the President's Hands**

**A**LL EYES are turned toward President Wilson, now that the Senate has been compelled to follow up its warning by actually refusing to accept unreservedly the treaty of peace. The majority of the Senate unmistakably represent the majority of the American people in rejecting certain propositions embodied in the treaty and in the covenant of the league of nations. In every possible manner, by round robin, by popular protest, by elections, and by test votes in the Senate, the warning was given that unless certain reservations were accepted the treaty would be rejected. These warnings were ignored, and no concession whatever was made to the public will as expressed by the Senate majority. The result is defeat and the loss of six months in the critical period of world recuperation.

Will President Wilson now recognize the right of the Senate to share in the treaty-making power, and will he acknowledge that the Senate faithfully reflects the will of the people in making reservations to the treaty? If so, all will be well, for the Senate does not wish to kill the treaty, and the people have not commanded the Senate to kill it.

President Wilson has made a gallant fight, and there is no reason why he should not now accept the result of the battle. Every possible effort was made by the President's faithful adherents in the Senate. They did not lose their fight through faulty generalship, through biased rulings of the chair, or through unexpected strokes of the enemy. They lost because they could not muster votes enough to win. They were beaten fairly and squarely in open combat. In such an event it is the American spirit to accept the consequences in good humor, and to proceed forthwith to execute the will of the people as expressed by the majority. That is what the people did when Mr. Wilson's election was determined by a few thousand votes in California. As soon as the will of the majority was ascertained it was cheerfully obeyed. That is the spirit which ought to be observed by the senators who fought so stubbornly for ratification without reservation.

The President should now accept the reservations made by the majority and ask his supporters to vote for them upon resubmission of the question to the Senate, or he should throw the treaty overboard and make his decision known to the country and to Europe without



delay. Nothing is to be gained by beginning another struggle to secure ratification of the treaty without reservations. Much is to be lost by such a procedure. The country is in urgent need of legislation, and cannot afford to sacrifice its domestic well-being to further fruitless discussions of the treaty by the Senate.

By frankly accepting the will of the majority, the President can quickly dispose of the treaty by resubmitting it and obtaining the Senate's ratification with reservations. He can thereby save the treaty and the league of nations. If the league of nations should prove beneficial to the world it will earn the confidence of the United States in due time, and means will be found to perfect its covenant according to the needs of the world. The President is so profoundly in earnest in his pioneer work in behalf of the league that he does not allow sufficient latitude for future generations in perfecting the league. He should not expect to produce a perfect organism of such immense importance as the league of nations will be if it is a success. Time must coöperate with human effort in perfecting a project of this magnitude. If the United States goes to the extent of becoming a member of a world league, however guardedly and cautiously it may act, the President is essentially successful and can well afford to hand on to posterity the minor task of perfecting the stupendous organism he has founded.

Look at the alternative: Refusal to accept the reservations means either another tedious and costly effort to secure unreserved ratification, ending in failure, or an abandonment outright of the treaty and the league. But this is not all. The United States is now a sufferer, along with other nations. It deserves something better than another long period of doubt, crushing taxation and unrest. Nine-tenths of the country's troubles are traceable to the doubts and hardships resulting from this ill-advised attempt to plunge the country forever into Europe's quagmire of intrigues and wars. The people have shown as clearly as they could that they oppose the extreme plan proposed by Mr. Wilson, but are not opposed to ratification of the treaty after safeguarding the United States. Business is paralyzed, commerce with Europe is upset, the cost of living is increased by unnecessary taxes and industrial feuds, home enterprise is afraid to go forward, Congress is unable to lift off the war taxes, and the general irritation and demoralization afford an opportunity to the alien revolutionists which they have promptly seized in the hope of overturning the government and wrecking the social system.

Take the people's verdict, Mr. President! Take the treaty with the reservations, and let the country go forward!

*Tuesday, December 2, 1919*

### Trustees of the People

EXPRESSIONS of opinion in Europe on the attitude of the United States toward the peace treaty are quite illuminating. The opinions are colored according to nationality and the respective national interests involved. In each case the viewpoint is selfish, which ought not to offend Americans; and the reflections upon the situation lead the commentator to speculate upon what his country and government will do in the case of final rejection of the treaty by the United States.

Entente and enemy opinion agrees upon one point—that the United States should by all means underwrite Europe, guarantee its solvency, bear its burdens, and become responsible for its stability. The task is not described in these words, exactly, but that is the meaning of the opinions. The allied journals see ruin unless the United States continues to furnish help and becomes the mainstay of the league of nations. The German papers are disappointed that the league of nations is imperiled and apparently about to be discarded, but they hope Germany may find some method of taking advantage of America's refusal to accept the treaty undiluted. The Germans are puzzled by the situation, and dare not comment too freely, for they do not yet know which way the cat will jump. If they exult over the decision of America to stay on this side of the ocean they may draw down upon themselves new and terrible allied pressure; and if they lay too much stress upon the need of the league of nations they run the risk of arousing the suspicions of the allies.

Europe, friend and enemy, is selfish, and looks upon America solely from the viewpoint of possible advantages to be gained. The United States is expected to look after itself, and it does not occur to the Europeans that the Yankees will not protect their own interests. Even the amazing departures from the policy of national interest with which President Wilson startled Europe are not considered to be permanent expressions of policy. The Europeans know that governments are set up among men to look after the selfish interests of each nation in competition with all others. They know nothing of an altruism that can give away national advantages, and they do not permit their officials to exercise such altruism.



There is much to support their view. Is not a government a trustee of the people? Are not public officials in a place of trust, where they are dealing with property and lives and interests not their own? By what right can a public official give away any interest of his country? How can he yield any valuable point in a controversy, unless authorized to do so? A matter that may appear to him trifling or temporary may turn out to be important and permanent. His country is an everlasting institution, while he is as brief as a candle. He may be big with love of humanity, and may aspire to be a world benefactor, with a sweep of sympathy equal to an archangel's, but these emotions are individual, after all, and cannot properly be used as an excuse for misusing his country's interests or giving away his country's advantages.

He is merely an agent, no matter how much power may have been confided to him momentarily. He must answer for his work. He must return the power to the source whence it came. In a short space, as nations go, he will pass on, as empty-handed as the poorest citizen. Then the questions will come, Has he been a faithful agent? Has he conserved the interests of his country? Does the government go to other hands with all its energies unimpaired, and all its advantages intact? Does the nation stand as strong as before the days of his stewardship?

If these questions cannot be answered in the affirmative, there is no honor or glory in what any man may do for his country. The higher his station and the greater his authority, the greater the discredit if he does not perform the duties of his stewardship.

For these reasons European governments are narrowly watching the United States. Each government is doing its best for its people, as it is in duty bound to do. For these reasons the men in authority in the United States—in the legislative, executive and judicial branches, in the army and navy—are in duty bound to look after the interests of the United States first, last, and always. The people have put a trust in their hands, to guard the nation and its interests. They are not free to do as they please with the interests, honor, territory, or independence of the United States. As faithful stewards they are bound to safeguard these things. Therefore the relations which the United States is about to define between itself and Europe must be considered from the viewpoint of America first.



*Friday, December 12, 1919*

### Victors Free to Act

**I**N CONSEQUENCE of the refusal of the United States to accept the peace arrangements made at Paris, the heads of the British, French and Italian governments are now in conference in London. The object of the conferences is to reach an agreement upon a course of action by the three governments. The questions calling for settlement are numerous and vitally important, and the process of settling them has been changed by the action of the United States. The London Times put the matter this way:

"The rejection of the league of nations for an indefinite time by the United States has altered almost every feature in the peace settlement and altered all of them for the worse. \* \* \* By the desire of President Wilson the covenant of the league of nations was made the cornerstone of peace. Steps were taken in the faith that America would ratify the arrangement concluded by the President. \* \* \* Had it not been for this faith the principal allies would have taken quite different precautions for their own protection and for the protection of the peace of the world."

We doubt that all the features of the peace settlement have been altered for the worse by the failure of the league, even from the European viewpoint. Certainly from the American viewpoint the situation is altered for the better, because the United States is now free from the threatened subjection of its will and strength to the inferior judgment of an international body, and can befriend Europe most powerfully in its own way, as it did when it stepped between France and death.

There is little need for reminding Europe that it had no justification for reposing blind faith in the acceptance by the United States of anything that might be done by its representatives in Paris. Due warning had been given Europe that the treaty would be subject to the approval of the Senate. The election in November, 1918, was an official notice that the plans of the administration were disapproved so far as they had been divulged. Senators sufficient in number to prevent ratification of the treaty took the trouble to warn Europe that it must not take too much on faith. It is not the fault of the United States that Europe went wrong. No twist of casuistry can foist a "moral obligation" upon the United States in this matter. The Senate was not only morally free to consider the treaty without

regard to any understandings made on faith or hope, but it was morally bound to scrutinize the treaty with special care, on account of the absence of information concerning its reason for existence.

The United States was not and is not under any compulsion to take the league arrangement on faith, as Europe was. There is no reason known to the United States why the league should be the cornerstone of peace with Germany. The London Times' observation that "had it not been for this faith the principal allies would have taken quite different precautions for their own protection" is felt by Americans to be the pregnant truth. Much is covered by that observation. It may be suggested that the principal allies ought to waste no further time by sending hope to find lost faith, but should immediately take the precautions which they had in mind when dreams were substituted for facts at Paris. Americans have no desire to interfere with France, Great Britain and Italy in any steps those great allies may take for their own protection and for the protection of the eastern hemisphere. Interference with Europe in the name of America, but against the will of America, is the cause of the present confusion and anxiety. It is Europe's right to know that this interference as planned for a permanency in the covenant has been vetoed. Public opinion in the United States has overruled the plans projected at Paris, for two reasons as big as the two halves of the world: First, the United States objects to American interference in Old World politics; and second, the United States objects to European interference in New World politics.

Why should not the triumphant allies make their victory secure and European democracy safe? They know how to do it, and the United States does not. Every piece of interference by the United States in Old World politics was a blunder, from Fiume to Shantung. There are all grades of governments in the Old World, from democracies to Asiatic autocracies. The United States has no right to dictate to the peoples of the Old World what their governments shall be, where their frontiers shall run, how they shall frame their tariffs, or how they shall adjust their quarrels. Some of those peoples are not ready for democracy, and without universal democracy an effective league of nations is a dream. Autocracies have habits and indulge in practices which democracies cannot afford to have or practice, and these differences would place democracies at a disadvantage in any league.



*Tuesday, December 16, 1919*

### Europe's Way Out

THERE is distinct improvement in the general situation in Europe, upon which depends the well being of the world, including the United States. The allies are rapidly recovering from the hallucinations that attended the mythical league of nations, and are discovering that they have the power to make a peace of reality and stability based upon permanent subjection of German military ambitions and equally permanent coöperation among the free nations. The vision of a supernatural and superhuman world league is passing, as all visions pass; and the allies find the United States still the Atlas of the world, stronger and more self-reliant than ever.

Germany reads the handwriting of Clemenceau and discerns that it is the word of fate. The German scheme of splitting the allies apart by participating in the league of nations is now nothing but a dream. The nation that sought the world's life is now begging for its own, and the consideration it receives is a mixture of retribution from Clemenceau and justice from Lloyd George. The Germans hoped to the last that the league of nations would take the place of the victorious allies, but the hope was blasted when the United States destroyed the plan that would have made Germany an associate of France in exerting authority over nations. The Huns know they are beaten. They acknowledge it in their reply to Clemenceau's note. They will pay for their treachery in sinking their fleet. They are trying to gain a little more time, but since M. Clemenceau's rib was broken the old tiger's temper is short, and he is apt to bring the proceedings to an abrupt end. There is a prospect that the protocol and the peace treaty will be in effect before Christmas.

When the treaty goes into effect the action of the United States will be of less importance, for it will not affect that portion of the treaty which has teeth in it. The allies will have their grip upon Germany, and it will be their own fault if they permit the Huns to wriggle away from them. The United States may or may not ratify the treaty—it does not matter much—but it will not join the league of nations as the league was framed up at Paris. That decision having been made, the rest is of minor consequence.

Europe needs help from the United States, not bizarre flights into political theory, but bread and butter, clothing, shoes, farm tools, seeds, lumber, steel, and all other necessities. Europe within



a few days probably will have peace outside of Russia, and it will be a peace dictated and enforced solely by the victors, not partly by Germany's advice and consent. Thereupon Europe will be capable of resuming in full blast the long-delayed work of recovery. Every able-bodied man in Europe ought to be at productive work. Millions of them are idle now. The United States has a right to require proof that Europeans are producers before it lends them money or contributes to their immediate needs. If the Europeans think they can graft free food and shoes from America, while refusing to work, they make the greatest mistake of their lives. Americans will not refuse bread to honest workers while there is a loaf in this country, but they will not send a single loaf to Europe to sustain grafters and idlers.

The test will come within a few weeks. Unless abundant reports are all in error, there is a wave of idleness throughout Europe, at the very hour when every man's brow should be beaded with honest sweat. Bankers and exporters need not talk of raising billions to provide necessities to Europe so long as Europe refuses to work. The American people will not permit their money to be diverted in that fashion. Foreign exchange can drop through the basement floor if it must, and paralysis may overtake American exports for a season; but even these misfortunes will not force working Americans to support European labor slackers.

There is no escape in Europe or America from the blessing of labor, which the ancients unfortunately regarded as a curse. Those who would eat must work, according to their ability. Neither by governments nor by private indirection can Europe fool Americans on this point. The springs of fellowship and generosity will be frozen up before winter if America discovers that cargoes are going to the support of idlers. On the contrary, there will be a tremendous outpouring of American help when the word comes that free European peoples have quit their war talk and their war idleness and are cheerily rebuilding their homes and farms. "Good luck to them all and a helping hand to each," will be America's message when Europe forgets its dreams of impossible world leagues, food without work, graft from America, and something for nothing.

Europe has within herself the recuperative power of liberty. The nations will do marvelous things. There will be a greater Europe when its peoples follow the simple rule of work and heed the injunction that must follow all wars: "Forget it!"

*Thursday, December 18, 1919*

## France's New Plan for Safety

WHEN the allied powers began their conferences on the subject of the peace settlement, France had nothing else in mind than the establishment of a new frontier that would insure her safety against any future attack by Germany. That was the salient feature of the European problem, for if France could be made safe against Germany there would be peace, and if she could not be made safe there would be another war.

All the other questions depended upon the solution of that central problem. The Austro-Hungarian empire was gone, and therefore Italy was safe. The British navy was supreme, and therefore England was safe. Poland was free, but her safety depended upon the ability of France to hold Germany fast. Czecho-Slovakia was free, but would not be free if France were struck down. This was the case with the other nations that had been in the war—Roumania, the South Slav state, Greece, Bulgaria, Belgium and even Russia.

Marshal Foch drew up a plan for the security of France. It made the Rhine the boundary between France and Germany. There was no doubt then, and no doubt now, that behind that frontier, with suitable precautions in the treaty of peace looking to the disarmament of Germany, France would be perpetually safe. Marshal Foch has insisted from that day to this that the frontier of France should be the Rhine. He holds that the old frontier of 1870 has been proved a vestibule for the entry into France of the murderous Germans. France is declared to be physically at the mercy of Germany so long as the frontier is not fixed at the Rhine.

The idea of making France secure at the expense of conquered Germany did not harmonize with President Wilson's ideal readjustment of the world. He had in mind something quite different from the actualities which engrossed the mind of Marshal Foch. Mr. Wilson's ideal and his concrete plan were to deny the fruits of conquest to the victors, and to impose upon the vanquished as few penalties as possible, without regard to the nature of the crime committed. Instead of presuming that Germans and French would clash again, the Wilson plan presumed that they would have no excuse for clashing again. Instead of establishing peace on physical facts the plan proposed to establish peace on psychological theories, which would make it to the interest of all nations to avoid war. Each



nation, in fact, was to pledge itself to fight for the integrity of all other nations. Thus they would all be bound in the golden chains of concord, and war would be no more.

As the peace conferences developed, France discovered that she must choose between Foch and Wilson. One represented fact and the other theory. One stood for a peace riveted by iron mastery over a beaten foe, and the other stood for peace supported by the theoretical undesirability of war. In one case France herself would hold the keys of peace. In the other case France and Germany would hold the keys together.

France endeavored with great energy, ingenuity and patience to work out a secure peace without throwing over either the Foch or the Wilson plan. The effort was a failure. After France was compelled to give up the plan for fixing her frontier at the Rhine she clung to the hope that the paper peace called the league of nations would be made effective by an armed force and a competent general staff capable of mastering any plots hatched by the enemy. But President Wilson defeated every proposal in this direction. He was heart and soul for the new world order, which was to abolish war by conference at Geneva. He saw that an armed force and a general staff were a presumption of future war, while the very heart of his plan was the presumption that there would not be any need of armed forces and general staffs. A successful league of nations on his plan would be an absurdity if armed to the teeth. He is entitled to credit for adhering to the logical conclusions of his plan, however empty of hope it left France and other nations subject to German attack.

Now the question that confronts Americans is: Do they wish to deny to France any protection at all, or do they favor some action, even at this late day, which will insure to France absolute safety against another German onslaught? Put in this form, few Americans would choose the first alternative. The country is not so confused by the ins and outs of treaty discussions as to wish insecurity for France. Therefore, if the question could be presented in form for execution of a plan, Americans would gladly assist France to rivet her glorious victory over Germany.

No tangible plan has yet been presented as a substitute for the ill-fated league of nations. France is busy, however, and a plan will surely be evolved. The enlightened minds and heroic hearts of France do not intend to see the sacrifices of their country squandered in mere dissipation of victory without safety and, perhaps, without peace.



*Tuesday, December 23, 1919*

## The Honor of the Navy

CONGRESS must now come to the rescue of the honor and efficiency of the United States Navy. The present Secretary, Mr. Josephus Daniels, has succeeded in inflicting a series of well-nigh deadly blows, which have so demoralized the rank and file that the navy is in grave danger. Its honor is besmirched and its efficiency impaired. Admiral Sims' refusal to accept the distinguished service medal, on account of the injustice which has been done to gallant officers under his command, brings the question of mismanagement of the Navy Department to the attention of Congress in such manner that it cannot be ignored with decency or safety.

Mr. Daniels began the administration of the Navy Department with the good will of the service and the public. He has not encountered any opposition except that which he has created himself. If the naval officers are in a state of deep resentment and revolt it is not their fault. The public is disgusted with the navy's mismanagement and angered because of the denial of justice to brave officers while personal favorites are decorated with the honors that belong to others. It is not the fault of the public that affairs in the navy have gone from bad to worse. The people gladly support all appropriations for the navy, and are thrilled with pride when they review its record in all the wars. The public willingly gave Mr. Daniels credit for all he accomplished during the recent war, and for much that he did not accomplish. There has not been any disposition to do anything more than smile at Mr. Daniels' vagaries, so long as they merely exhibited his odd unfitness for his place and did not injure the service. But now the situation has taken a sinister turn for the worse.

What is to be thought of a department head who overturns facts and justice and substitutes falsehood and injustice in the award of medals for distinguished service during the war against Germany? It is a peculiarly injurious offense against decency and justice. It strikes at the navy's honor—an act that no one ever dreamed would or could be committed by Josephus Daniels or any other Secretary of the Navy. The navy's honor is in his keeping. He is the last man in the United States who should tarnish it. His chief duty is to maintain the navy's honor, without which there can be no navy.

Naval officers are taught from first to last to cherish the honor of the service. Throughout the glorious history of the navy, the pur-

suit of honor has been the inspiration of heroic deeds, now famous throughout the world. The honors bestowed by this nation upon its naval defenders have been until this hour the reward above all others for which men have given their lives, well knowing that these honors were unpurchasable by favoritism and unattainable by the undeserving.

But now—what a change! The choice honor provided by Congress and entrusted to the Secretary of the Navy for bestowal upon those who have honored their country by distinguished service is now made an instrument of malice and favoritism, so that the badge becomes a token of dishonor in the eyes of gallant officers and is prized only by the incompetent and the undeserving!

Who is the naval officer who will wear a distinguished service medal bestowed by Josephus Daniels? How will he explain his possession of the dishonored symbol of honor? Will he take pains to say that he is in fact a hero who, by some mistake of the Secretary of the Navy, was permitted to have a medal? Or will he wink and nod and whisper eagerly that he has a pull with the Secretary of the Navy and can get "honor" by the graft of favoritism or sectionalism?

No individual of either of these types has ever worn the uniform of the United States Navy. Hence there will be no such shameful exhibition of dishonored badges purporting to express the gratitude of the United States for gallant service.

The President cannot be expected to attend to this scandal. Unfortunately it has occurred during his severe illness, and advantage has been taken of his condition to put through the plan without his knowledge. The matter is one that calls for the instant action of Congress. Let the Secretary of the Navy and the board of awards be called forthwith. Let the facts be ascertained and published, in order that the people may know where honor and dishonor lie.

*Wednesday, December 24, 1919*

## **Alien and Domestic Reds**

**A** FEW anarchists have been deported on a ship bound for Russia, and red Russia at that, while thousands of American citizens remain to spread treasonable doctrines, without any attempt by Congress to single out and punish domestic enemies.

The Department of Labor is under criticism on the allegation that it harbors officials who are pro-bolshevik, and at heart enemies of the American government. In these circumstances it seems strange that the department should have sent the Russian reds to a place where they will be free to mingle and conspire with the Lenine-Trotsky murderers. Why were the reds sent to soviet Russia, instead of to that part of Russia under control of loyal Russians? The action of this government will be construed as unfriendly by the Russians who are fighting against the bolsheviki.

The reds have no right to be favored in their work. They should not have been permitted to choose their destination. They should have been delivered into the hands of loyal Russians who are trying to put a stop to anarchy. If anarchy is intolerable here, the United States is not doing a friendly turn to the struggling people of Russia when it reinforces the anarchist leaders in Russia.

Possibly Congress will inquire into this subject a little and ascertain why the United States is helping the reds of Russia.

In the meantime the enactment of legislation defining a domestic enemy, and imposing appropriate penalties upon American citizens convicted of crimes against their government, should engage the attention of Congress. The anarchists who have just been deported and the larger number of alien anarchists who remain are aided and encouraged by many well-known Americans who are becoming bolder and bolder in their advocacy of violence. Some of these citizens are wealthy and influential; others are impecunious writers seeking notoriety. Some are men, and many are women. All of them boast of their intelligence, as, indeed, do all anarchists.

The first claim of a preacher of a new social disorder is that he is superior mentally or is armed with better information than his fellows. The anarchist, by inference at least, never fails to tell his auditors that they are fools and dupes, and that his plan of destruction is the essence of wisdom. The crack-brained, the defective, the



drug fiends, and other physical and mental derelicts, are only too easily induced to believe that any change would be for the better. So it might, so far as they are personally concerned. Death itself would be a vast improvement. But they always make themselves the center of the universe, and with their feeble and twisted reasoning equipment they reach the conclusion that the world is wrong.

The American citizen, native or naturalized, who wilfully spreads the spirit of destruction and violence is a traitor. He deserves death. He lifts his hand against the government and the flag as truly as any traitor who gives aid and comfort to the enemy. If by speaking or writing he inculcates the doctrine of violence as a means of reform he is a wilful, voluntary, dastardly coward and traitor, incurably vile, and an insufferable pollution of the air of true liberty. In strict justice he should suffer death, but as governments are more than tolerant, and as the United States has not the slightest conception of the damage that is wrought by these traitors, it is not to be expected that they will be given their dues.

The best that can be expected—the least that should be accepted by the people—is a law that will enable the courts to distinguish a criminal outrage of the rights of free speech and free assembly, and thereupon to deprive of the voting privilege and send to prison any citizen convicted of preaching, teaching or inculcating the doctrine of violence as a means of reform.

The voting privilege should not be held by any American who does not support his government. It is dangerous in the hands of a man who has no sense of loyalty to his country's institutions.

The rights of free speech and of writing, and of peaceful assembly are sacred. So are all other rights of the people. All rights are naturally harmonious, and one right cannot conflict with another right. When a conflict arises in the exercise of alleged rights, it will be found that some one is lying or mistaken—that he is not exercising a right, but attempting to exercise a wrong. A peaceable assembly may become lawless when it turns into a mob. Free speech may become lawless when it turns into libel and treasonable utterances. The man who scatters the firebrands of anarchy in his speech, and then, when called to account, takes refuge in the "right of free speech," is no better than the murderer who disguises himself in his victim's clothing in order to escape.

The strong hand of the United States must take hold of these native and naturalized criminals. The enemy is not without the gate, but within.

*Monday, December 29, 1919*

## Two Delicate Points

IF IT is Mr. Lloyd George's desire to see the peace treaty ratified by the United States he is promoting the cause in an odd manner by provoking opposition in this country on two very delicate points. He defends the six votes of the British empire as against the single vote of the United States, and he ascribes the controversy over the treaty in this country to "the folly of party warfare."

The right of Australia to vote in the league of nations, said Mr. Lloyd George, was equal to the right of the United States, as Australia had lost as many men as the United States in the war. But, he added, Australia's vote would not be used in any question raised between Great Britain and the United States. This does not meet the situation at all. In any controversy between the United States and another nation, except Great Britain, the British empire would be entitled to cast six votes and the United States no vote. Thus, in any dispute to which the United States was a party, and England not a party, the British empire would probably determine the decision. This matter has been thoroughly thrashed out in the Senate, and a barrier has been raised against unequal voting in the league, which no man and no nation can tear down. The effect of Mr. Lloyd George's argument on this point will be to stiffen the opposition of Americans to the league of nations.

In the matter of American opposition to the treaty, Mr. Lloyd George adopts the hasty and erroneous opinion that party politics is behind it. This view doubtless has been accepted throughout Europe on account of President Wilson's frequent intimations that partisanship inspires the critics of the league of nations. Mr. Lloyd George ought to be too well informed to be misguided in this matter. He could have ascertained the facts at any moment by consulting the distinguished British envoy to Washington. Doubtless the facts have been reported to London in detail.

Partisanship is not at the bottom of the opposition to the peace treaty and the league of nations. No one who has given even superficial attention to the subject is unaware of the embarrassment of those Democratic senators who are opposed to certain features of the treaty and the league covenant, but who have contrived to avoid an open clash with their party leader. These Democrats have not felt free to vote according to their individual judgment, inasmuch



as the treaty and league are the handiwork of the Democratic party's titular leader. For party reasons only they have remained silent and voted as desired by the President. If that be partisanship it is favorable to the treaty.

Other Democrats, not being able to agree with the President in this all-important matter, have not hesitated to vote for reservations which are calculated to safeguard the United States. Their votes were cast against the advice of their party colleagues, who insisted that the party would be irretrievably damaged if the crowning work of President Wilson should be discredited.

The Republicans of the Senate have not been under any party leader's dictation. They are not concerned in the partisan success of the White House occupant. The treaty and covenant do not represent to them a program which must be accepted for fear of party reverses. Therefore, the Republican senators have been free to deal with the treaty and covenant without any regard, whatever, for party considerations. Aided by the independent Democrats, these Republicans have formulated reservations which harmonize the treaty with the Constitution and enable the United States to ratify the pact without doing violence to its traditions and laws. The reservations are as Democratic as they are Republican in language and spirit. They are, in fact, American, without the slightest hint of partisanship. They assert the doctrines that have been supported by all great Democrats and all great Republicans since the foundation of the republic.

If there is any partisanship in connection with the treaty controversy in the Senate it lies in the determination and effort of the titular leader of the Democratic party to force through a treaty framed by partisans, in secret, and regarding which information is denied to the Senate. The purpose of this move, if it is a partisan move, is to compel all non-Democratic senators to accept the Democratic leader's plan for a league of nations by directing against them the charge that they are delaying peace in Europe, prolonging the horrors of war and breaking the heart of the world in insisting upon Americanizing the treaty. The latest expression from President Wilson, in plain words, holds the Republican leaders responsible for the treaty situation, although the Republican leaders do not constitute a minority sufficient to prevent ratification of the treaty without reservation. If the Republican leaders were the only obstacle the treaty would have been ratified long ago.



*Tuesday, December 30, 1919*

### Why America Halts

PROVIDENCE has ordained that the United States should falter at the hour when the world most needs American courage and material assistance. This nation at the end of 1919 floats and rolls idly, like a steamship stopped in midocean. The millions of Mexico and Europe cry for help, and there is no help. The questions that call for adjustment are still unsettled. Other nations, whose plans depend upon coöperation with the United States, are unable to act. The British Ambassador, one of the foremost figures of the world, whose counsel with the United States might be of untold service, leaves Washington today after a patient but fruitless sojourn, and all he can take home is a report of America's present inability to function as one of the world powers. Other ambassadors are here with nothing to do. The diplomatic corps is a superfluity. The United States ignores its foreign business, and refuses to concern itself with foreign emergencies.

Much of the inability of the United States government to deal with foreign questions is attributed to President Wilson's illness, but this factor is emphasized unduly in proportion to the controlling factor, which is the failure of the Paris conference. If the Paris conference had fashioned a treaty actually accomplishing both peace and justice, the United States would not now be a derelict, but, notwithstanding the President's illness, would be coöperating heartily with all nations in binding up the world's wounds and attending to its widows and orphans. It is not through any lack of sympathy that Americans do not rush to the aid of the millions who suffer from German and Austrian savagery.

Time must always be the test of important undertakings. By this test, within less than one brief year, the Paris peace conference is proved to be the most mournful failure in the history of statecraft. It had every opportunity to succeed, and no excuse for failure. The mightiest nations, fresh from victory, gave to its delegates the authority of life and death over empires. There has never been a tribunal set up by human beings which possessed such extensive power as that which was exerted and misdirected by the Paris conference.

The United States was gladly given first place at this world conference. This country had just given proof of its clear sight, its ability to act, and its possession of the sinews of war. The nations

naturally presumed that a country which had so successfully directed its energies in war would also be possessed of clear sight, the ability to act, and the other sinews of peace. This country had acted as one man during the war, and the nations did not imagine that it would fail to be a unit in making peace.

Several reasons have been advanced for the failure of the United States to support the work at Paris. One reason set forth is that the American delegates were partisans, led by a partisan who rigidly excluded from the delegation all representatives of other parties, and thereby laid the foundation of the opposition that developed in the Senate. But this mistake alone would not have prevented ratification of the treaty if the treaty had been a genuine and just settlement of the war. The chief reason for the failure to ratify the treaty is to be found not in Washington, but in Paris, in the peace conference itself.

Had the Paris conference dealt in actualities and provided against real and not theoretical dangers, there would not now be torpor in the United States and unmitigated misery throughout Europe. By this time the United States would have amassed enough of its resources to carry Europe over the abyss, and Europe would now be cheerfully active in rebuilding, instead of standing benumbed and starving. The Paris conference dealt with a myth and not with facts. It imagined that the world needed an assurance that the nations would not go to war, when the truth was that the only nations bent upon war had been disabled and could be kept powerless with ease. Instead of requiring the peace-loving and free nations to give mutual pledges that they would not slay one another, the Paris conference should have been forging the shackles upon the warlike nations and making some plan to keep democracy safe from bolshevism. This was not done. The imaginary and not the real was taken as the basis of action. Hence the warlike nations were not fully mastered; no plan whatever was made against bolshevism, and the only outcome was a scheme dealing with an unreality—that is, a scheme to prevent free nations from becoming like Germany, something that never would happen in any event.

The failure of the victorious nations, led by the United States, to establish an actual and just peace—that is the real reason for the aimlessness and incertitude of the United States in dealing with other nations. This virtual paralysis must persist, necessarily, so long as the government of the United States mistakes the unreal for the real.



*Thursday, January 1, 1920*

## What the New Year Sees

**T**HOSE who wish to gaze backward across 1919 are at liberty to do so, but they could be in better business. They will not find anything profitable in the rubbish heap. Their spirits will derive no benefit of energy, reassurance or hope by moping over the failures of 1919. The year that died last night was promising as a youngster, but it fell among pharisees, bolsheviki and other bad companions; and, going from bad to worse, it wound up in a wood alcohol debauch. So let it pass!

It is the year 1920 that concerns us. Now, here is a year that is worth while. It has credit, and that is something the world needs. It has its life before it, with youthful vigor, fresh muscles, untroubled sleep and boundless hope. If it will guard against sundry subtle hereditary weaknesses and study early to distinguish between faithful friend and flattering foe it can make a glorious career, and contribute marvelously to the welfare of mankind.

The new year sees two hemispheres in distinct colors today. The eastern half of the world is smoky black and the western half is a lustrous rainbow. There is hard work ahead for the new year in the East. The criminal needy must be kept from snatching food from the mouths of the worthy needy. All the nations lately at war are in bad shape, but they retain their character even in misery. The enemy is the enemy still, and the friend is still the friend. Next to the crowning blunder of 1919 the greatest disasters of that year were caused by the failure of those in authority to treat enemies as enemies and friends as friends.

Germany and Russia are the nations that require closest watching and keenest discrimination on the part of the free governments. The strongest Germans are the most deadly to other peoples. These strong characters are in the background, feverishly at work utilizing the troubled conditions of the world for the advantage of Germany. They are maneuvering in Russia, Hungary, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Italy, to say nothing of the little victimized "nations" that think they can break away from Russia and yet escape the maw of Germany.

In Russia the Germans are intriguing with the bolsheviki, and egging them on to demand the lifting of the blockade. This, if granted by the allies, would work immediately to the great advantage



of the Germans and the bolsheviki by facilitating the exchange of German manufactures for Russian raw materials. In Hungary the Germans are stirring up the movement for the restoration of the monarchy, to serve as a nucleus for a monarchist reaction throughout middle Europe. The Magyars and the Huns understand one another perfectly, and the allies have shown that they do not fully understand either one.

In Austria the Germans are conducting a propaganda for union with Germany, and the allies actually manifest a disposition to accede to the plan. This would enlarge the bounds and strength of the German war machine created by Bismarck, and which is intact, although it was the duty of the Paris conference to smash it. In Czecho-Slovakia the Germans are trying to nullify the good work of President Masaryk, but fortunately with no success. In Poland the enemy is attempting to fan the hatred of the Poles and the Jews, in order to deny to both these peoples the opportunity to set up a stable free government of their own. In Italy the Germans are inculcating bolshevism and a hatred of the allies. So the enemy is active everywhere.

The New World is free, peaceful and prosperous. The single exception is Mexico, which is utterly neglected by the United States. One-tenth of the sympathy and self-sacrifice expended by Americans toward the sufferers of the Old World, if directed to the aid of the Mexicans, would do all that is necessary.

The brightest spot on the globe is the United States. It is more blest than ever, and some of its inhabitants acknowledge their blessings by the meanest, most ungrateful, quarrelsome, disloyal, hoggish conduct that could be imagined. There are Americans among these ingrates, too; not all of them are stunted aliens. The number of crack-brained philosophers who have improvements upon truth was never greater, and their schemes for precipitating the millennium by eliminating human nature were never more ingenious. This mass of nonsense and folly is the output of war-shaken brains, and it will disappear in due time, leaving truth, honor and intelligence unhurt. The Constitution sustains the government. The crack-brains do not know the Constitution, and the Constitution returns the compliment.

The United States has shaken off the trammels of the league of nations, that formless birth of error and unreality. The action of the United States in avoiding this danger was the sanest and most beneficial act of the year 1919.

*Friday, January 2, 1920*

## German Hope in the League

AMERICANS who still cling to the idea that the league of nations, framed at Paris, is the right method of reaching and holding peace and justice would do well to consider the plan from the enemy's standpoint. A glance at the New Year's greetings of certain German leaders will be of assistance. Gustave Bauer, chancellor of the "imperial republic" of Germany, does not refer to the league of nations, but he furnishes valuable insight into the Hun mind by giving notice that if the allies press "ruthlessly" the demand for Germans to be tried for war crimes, "it may turn Germany into another chaos of internal strife, even civil war." The chancellor thus tells the world that Germany does not intend to observe the treaty faithfully.

With this Hun attitude toward the treaty well in mind, let us see what Foreign Minister Mueller, a socialist, has to say:

"The German government will do everything in its power to live up to the treaty until our opponents themselves agree to rescind its most objectionable clauses or until the league of nations takes the revision of the treaty in hand. This is one of the chief reasons why henceforth the league of nations idea must be the basic principle of our conduct of foreign affairs."

Ponder these words, Americans. Get the full meaning and intent of the German government and people. Then, having ascertained what the enemy desires, ask yourselves if it is what you desire also.

Germany will live up to the treaty (unless the allies actually try to punish Germans guilty of crime), but Germany hopes that the allies themselves will rescind the objectionable parts of the treaty, such as punishment of crime, exaction of indemnity, scrutiny of Germany's fresh war plans, &c. Better than the hope of allied mercy, however, is the opportunity offered by the league of nations for breaking down the peace treaty. "Until the league takes the revision of the treaty in hand" means that Germany takes President Wilson at his word and will demand membership in the league. Having been admitted (and how could a world league exclude a leading nation?) Germany would exercise her right to bring up the objectionable peace treaty as a matter threatening the peace of the world. The league could not refuse to reconsider the treaty. From that moment the whole matter would be reopened, and, necessarily,



France, England and the others would be forced to suspend execution of the treaty pending its revision by the league of nations.

Do not forget that President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George have assured Germany of early membership in the league of nations. Do not fail to read the article of the covenant which gives Germany the right to demand revision of the peace treaty. Take note that the league is bound to open the question upon Germany's demand.

Thus there is opened before Americans this proposal: That there shall be a league of nations with power to control the foreign relations of all nations; that America and Germany shall be equal members of this league; that upon the admission of Germany there shall be a revision of the Versailles treaty, with a view to rescinding provisions which Germany declares to be objectionable; that if the league should decide against Germany in these matters, they could be brought up again and again by Germany as a matter of right; that the execution of the peace treaty would be suspended pending the revision of the terms, thus enabling Germany to postpone indefinitely, for years, the execution of the obligations imposed upon her; that while Germany would thus escape from the treaty penalties, she would have the veto power over any other proposal offered in the league for disarmament, abolition of secret treaties, erection of a world court, &c., and would also have a vote against the United States in all questions arising under the Monroe doctrine, against which the United States might make an issue.

"My hope is in the league of nations," says Gustave Noske, German minister of national defense, echoing the sentiments of the chancellor. As the covenant was framed, Germans do well to place their hope in it, but they reckon without the United States, which stands between them and their hope of escaping from the treaty penalties. The United States has refused to accept the covenant as drawn up. It will not reverse or modify that decision. The result of this refusal is to take the heart out of the covenant as a means of assisting Germany to escape. This aspect of the treaty controversy in the Senate is not quite fully appreciated in Germany or elsewhere in Europe, or even in the United States. As it becomes better understood, the free governments of the world will thank the Senate for smashing the organism by which Germany was to make her escape.

The talk of a compromise in the Senate, which may revive the covenant of the league of nations, is idle talk. The year 1920 will see many present supporters of the league converted into its strongest opponents.



*Monday, January 5, 1920*

## League of Nations Finance

THE Senate would do well to investigate the financial ramifications of the proposed league of nations before committing the United States to membership in the league, even in a qualified manner. The covenant is so obscure and ambiguous that it is impossible to estimate in advance just how far the United States might be committed in financial matters. The extent of the league's power to regulate and control international commerce and finance has never yet been explained.

One of the leading economists of Great Britain, Sir George Paish, is now in the United States for the purpose of developing a plan for financing Europe. He has made the suggestion that all the members of the league of nations pool their credits and promote an international bond issue. The amount of money required, he thinks, is \$35,000,000,000, of which Great Britain is ready to subscribe possibly \$5,000,000,000. The amount which the United States should subscribe "must be a matter of negotiation."

In connection with Sir George Paish's plan, it should be borne in mind that a well-defined plan has been developed in France, looking to a readjustment of all the war debts on the theory that all the allied and associated nations were fighting for their common defense and, therefore, should share proportionately all the expenses of the war, from first to last. So eminent and influential a Frenchman as M. Ribot, former premier, broached this plan recently in the chamber of deputies.

There is nothing in the covenant of the league of nations which bars the council from redistributing the war debts of the allies. It does not appear that there is anything prohibiting a league of nations bond issue on the lines suggested by Sir George Paish. Is it not possible, then, that if the United States should join the league it would find itself "morally obligated" to join in a vast loan scheme in which America's wealth would be mortgaged for the benefit of other nations? Would not the United States also be compelled to agree to a readjustment of war debts whereby \$100,000,000,000 or more of the debts would be saddled upon this country? As this country is populous and rich, it would necessarily carry the heavy end of the burden. The total war debt of all the allies is over \$300,000,000,000, and the United States possesses more than one-third of all the credit

and wealth of the allies. Therefore, it could not properly refuse to carry one-third of the burden, once it had assumed the "moral obligations" hidden in the entangling provisions of the covenant.

The testimony of incompetence and ruinous selfishness on the part of many European nations is too respectable to be ignored. The nations are not capable of satisfactory coöperation at this time. They are suspicious of one another, and do not hesitate to resort to destructive methods in dealing with one another. Since they are all in the same boat, any advantage seized by one becomes a disadvantage to it; but they are so hard-pressed, so desperate and so far off their equilibrium that they do not perceive this fact. Nevertheless, it is true, and it furnishes the worst possible basis for an ideal, unselfish, perfectly coöperating league of nations.

As the present disordered temper of the European nations furnishes the worst possible basis for a coöperative world league, it follows that the present is the worst possible time for initiating such a league. Europe was never less happily suited to the contemplation of the ideal. It was never less tranquil, well fed, orderly and prosperous, all of which it should be before taking up such a far-reaching scheme as a world league of nations. Europe is distracted by terrible experiences, suffering from hunger and cold, racked by debt and threatened with wild revolutions. The nations there need anything but political experiments. They need food, clothes, shoes and other material supplies. The league of nations would be used by each of them, if possible, as a means of securing the necessities of life, at any cost. If the league could be directed against the United States, to extort from this country its food, credit and wealth, we may be sure the council at Geneva would work feverishly to that end. Sir George Paish and M. Ribot may not be speaking for anybody except themselves, but they have thrown out suggestions which illustrate the ugly possibilities of the league of nations.

It is commonly assumed that the Lodge reservations remove all danger to the United States which might be lurking in the covenant of the league. We think this assumption is a mistake. There are matters not covered by the Lodge reservations which should be carefully investigated by the Senate.



*Sunday, January 11, 1920*

### A Message to France

THE people of Europe are forming a most unfavorable and mistaken attitude toward the United States on account of their inability to understand that President Wilson is not the American government. The people of France, especially, are forming a false impression of Americans, for France yielded her plans for security at the urgent request of President Wilson, and accepted as a substitute the proposed league of nations and the proposed treaty of alliance. Paris was filled with the fame of Wilson. No one seemed to question his dominance over the American government. He had repeatedly brought Congress to heel. He seemed to have final authority and did not make plain to France that his proposals were contingent upon the approval of the Senate. To all intents and purposes, Wilson was the United States in the eyes of France.

The discovery that Mr. Wilson is not able to make good the bargain he forced through at Paris is having a most prejudicial effect upon French public opinion, which should not be permitted to harden into a fixed misapprehension. Americans have not refused to do their duty toward France, and have not failed in friendship. They still remain at heart the loyal friends of France, and, if necessary, they would again take up arms and fight on her side. No treaty is required to instill this friendship for France in the hearts of Americans or to pledge them to protect France against destruction at the hands of Germany. A treaty without America's friendship behind it would be unreliable, but America's friendship without a treaty behind it was reliable enough to send a conquering army across the Atlantic.

These facts should be made known to Frenchmen without delay. In order to appreciate the importance of making America's position clear, let the American reader reverse the situation and imagine the United States living alongside a remorseless military power over 50 per cent more populous than the United States, a deadly enemy of this country, and but lately thrust out of this country by the aid of a friend from overseas. Let the American imagine an American field marshal, chief of all the armies, suggesting as a plan of future safety the readjustment of the frontier so that the enemy could not rush through an unprotected door, as he had done in 1870 and 1914, thus proving that the boundary was unprotected.



This American plan for protecting America is feasible, acceptable and effective; but suddenly the president of the overseas republic appears and insists that this plan shall be abandoned in favor of his scheme for a new world system whereby nations will not be able to make war any more. He announces that the nation which had just saved America demands his scheme, and that he dares not return without America's acceptance of it. He proves to be so insistent that a rupture of friendly relations is threatened unless America yields. It is necessary to hold the friendship of his nation, which possesses the wealth, strength and materials which America must rely upon during her convalescence from well-nigh mortal wounds.

Then imagine that the United States reluctantly rejects the reality of military security and accepts the unreality of a proposed new world system, on condition that the overseas nation enter into a treaty of alliance guaranteeing its assistance in case of another assault from the enemy neighbor. This is agreed to. The papers are signed, and the foreign president returns to his country. Thereupon, his countrymen object to the plans which he proposed, and insist upon modification or rejection of them. He speaks of the good faith of the nation having been pledged to America, and even announces that he would give up his life rather than see his plan fail. Yet the fact remains that he was not authorized to make the pledges in question, and was morally bound to advise America to that effect. The treaty-making power of his government, it appears, is divided between himself and the Senate. The Senate refuses to consent to his plan, and will not even discuss the treaty of alliance.

What would Americans think of such a situation? Would they not be strongly inclined to include all branches of the foreign government in their condemnation? Their disappointment would hardly be satisfied with denouncing the foreign president for imposing upon them his impracticable and unauthorized scheme. The ignorant Americans would surely denounce the entire people. A demand would be made for adoption of the field marshal's plan of security, without regard to the wishes of the nation that had disappointed them.

The fact that the league of nations plan, as forced through at Paris, does not fit the structure of the United States and is antagonistic to the principles and traditions of this republic should be made known to all Frenchmen. But more than this: All Frenchmen should be informed that the failure of the Paris plan has nothing to do with American friendship for France.

*Monday, January 12, 1920*

## The Power to Veto Peace

THE Constitution provides a way to enact laws despite the veto of the President. But there is no way to make a treaty against the veto of the President. If there should be in the White House a President who did not wish to make peace after his treaty had been changed by the Senate, it might happen that the United States would be unable to reach a state of peace, except on terms laid down by a single individual, and in defiance of Congress. There might be a President so wedded to his own plan, so entangled by promises to foreign governments or so jealous of the rights of the Senate that he would refuse to exchange ratifications of a peace treaty if the Senate had made reservations in behalf of this nation. The reservations might be desirable and warmly approved by the people, but such a President could say, "I do not accept the action of the Senate as the will of the people, and I refuse to approve of the Senate's work." He would be within his constitutional powers and could not be compelled to exchange ratifications of the treaty.

By a two-thirds vote Congress can re-pass a bill over a President's veto and it becomes law. The same provision should be made in case of a treaty, after it has been approved by the Senate by the required two-thirds vote. Having reached that stage, it should not be pigeon-holed by the President, and he should not have the power to pigeon-hole it. If he should refuse to proceed with exchange of ratifications, Congress should have power to make the treaty effective by a two-thirds vote, as in case of a vetoed bill. A treaty is a law, and so far as it affects American citizens it is nothing but a law. Congress can abrogate a treaty by passing a law, with or without the President's consent, and this has been done several times. If a treaty and a law are in conflict the Supreme Court takes the last expression as the law, whether it be the treaty or a simple act of Congress.

It is conceivable that a President of the United States might be elected who would misuse his power to pigeon-hole a peace treaty, and thus keep the nation in a state of war. A treaty is a contract between nations, and usually a peace treaty is a complicated bargain, the making of which required confidential exchanges between the parties, often leading to the making of secret pledges which must be kept from the knowledge of the people. In such a case the completed draft is apt to conceal as much as it reveals. It is also apt



to be obscure, ambiguous, or even purposely misleading on important matters which have been disposed of secretly, or which are to be handled privately by the governments, in a manner which would arouse antagonism, or even war, if known to the people. In that case the Senate would demand information, and would not obtain it, or it would learn something indirectly which would cause it to make amendments or reservations, for the sake of national security.

Quite conceivably, amendments or reservations to a peace treaty would seem to be simple on their face, and obviously unobjectionable, and yet they might vitally affect the pledges or commitments which a President had made privately to foreign governments. The ambiguous language of the treaty might be so changed that, instead of permitting a President to fulfill secret pledges, it would disrupt the entire series of private understandings which had shaped the treaty. He would then be faced with the alternative of breaking his private agreements with foreign governments or pigeon-holing the treaty, notwithstanding his previous advocacy of it. He would possibly be able to convince some of his countrymen that the Senate's alterations had nullified the treaty, in which case he would have specious grounds for refusing to proceed with ratification; but, on the other hand, the people would probably insist upon ratification because of their anxiety to terminate the war. A stubborn President, however, could go to the end of his term without exchanging ratifications, notwithstanding the clamor of the people. Thus he could prove to foreign governments his own personal good faith in endeavoring to secure ratification by the United States of a treaty with all its private implications and understandings unaffected by reservations or amendments.

The present controversy over the treaty of Versailles has been valuable in bringing out the defect in the treaty-making power which is herein described. The truth is that the treaty-making power is not equally divided between the President and the Senate, since the President has an absolute veto. This lacuna should not be permitted to exist, for the reason that peace is usually reached by means of treaties, and it is unwise to leave to one man the power to continue a state of war against the will of the people and Congress.

Congress can declare war with or without the President's consent, but it cannot make peace by treaty without the President's consent. Surely, if the Constitution makers found it desirable to empower Congress to overrule the President in making war it would seem desirable that Congress should have power to overrule him in making peace by a treaty which he himself would have submitted.



*Tuesday, January 13, 1920*

## No Compromise on Americanism

THE most persistent and skillful efforts have been made for months to convince Americans that the welfare of the United States and Europe was bound up in the treaty with the Germans. Those efforts have been successful in such measure that many American citizens of the most devoted patriotism are somewhat impressed by such talk as this: "There, you see the nations of Europe going forward with the peace treaty and the league of nations, while the United States hangs back with Turkey and Russia. The United States helped to end the war, but it becomes a slacker in the work of making peace."

But such statements have no weight with those Americans who have studied the situation carefully and are capable of judging the duty of the United States as based upon its peculiar structure, its traditions, and its relations with Europe. The first and most important point to be borne in mind is that the treaty of Versailles was never authorized or approved by the people of the United States and is contrary to the policy of the United States in declaring and prosecuting the war, in this respect: That while war was declared separately and while the United States refrained from allying itself with the nations arrayed against Germany, the treaty attempts to commit the United States to all European settlements, exactly as if this country had been an ally and had committed itself to all the allied treaties and agreements.

There was no authority, no excuse and no necessity for making the United States a party to the settlements in Europe. The United States went to war for a specific purpose, and throughout the war it scrupulously refrained from entangling itself in the engagements of the allies. President Wilson was so consistent and precise in distinguishing the relations between this government and the allies that he received unmerited criticism, including criticism from this newspaper. He was right, and his critics were wrong. But as he was right in maintaining the distinction at that time, he was wrong in cutting away from it at Paris and attempting to make the United States a full fledged ally of the allies in all European political questions, notwithstanding the fact that the United States had never contracted or authorized such alliance.

It is beyond the power of a President to contract an alliance be-

tween this government and any other. If he attempts to make a treaty of alliance with Europe, which is the real nature of the treaty of Versailles, he invites the opposition of all Americans who cherish the traditions of their country as bodied forth in the Monroe doctrine and other American principles. If the people and the Senate approve of his proposal there is nothing more to be said, but until they do approve, it is as offensive as it is injudicious to assert that the United States is a slacker in the work of world peace.

The assertion that it is the duty of the United States to ratify the treaty of Versailles is a gratuitous and impudent assumption which has no basis of justification in the history or present purpose of the people of this nation. There is not a shred of evidence which shows that the United States is bound to reverse itself and enter into European quarrels. On the contrary, all that has been done by the United States government since it declared its independence, including the war against Germany, has been contrary to the idea of participating in European politics.

The treaty of Versailles concerns the United States very little and very remotely, except as to the proposed league of nations, which is a plan for permanently entangling the United States in European affairs. Aside from the league of nations covenant, the treaty can be executed without the United States as well or better than with it; and the nations concerned are proceeding to execute it. The only portions that affect the United States are certain provisions in section 10 (not "Article X"), which are not of sufficient importance to consume more than a week's time in a separate adjustment between the United States and Germany.

The demand for ratification of the treaty is not because of the peace settlements with Germany. It is because the league of nations will be a failure unless the United States can be drawn into European politics. The statements are made that "the world will break down" and that "Europe will fall into chaos" and that "the little freed nations will be destroyed" unless the United States joins the league of nations. There is not a word of truth in these statements. They are utterly without effect upon Americans who know wherein the true strength of America lies as a defender of liberty. It is not in the entanglement of its free will that the United States is strong, but in its independence and unfettered freedom of decision and action.



*Thursday, January 15, 1920*

## Europe and the League

**D**OUBTLESS there will be little criticism of President Wilson for issuing the formal call for the first meeting of the council of the league of nations. It is an empty formality, which might as well be performed by the head of a nation which has declined to accept the "covenant" as by anybody else. The matter of interest is the manner in which Europe is working its way out from under the incubus of the Paris treaty, and particularly the league of nations.

It will be noticed that at the first meeting of the council Japan will be represented, and the United States and Greece will be absent. There are volumes of meaning in these two facts. It is quite possible, if the United States had been a true friend of China at the Paris conference, Japan might not have been represented in the council, and the United States might have been. That is a most interesting "might have been," whose history is not all in the past. There are other chapters to be written, and perhaps they will be written in the blood of Americans. Sufficient unto that day, however, is the evil thereof, and it need not be discussed here.

But why is not Greece in the council, as the Paris synod has arranged? Ask the Greeks who heard from the lips of Americans that they need not expect to retain their own lands, but must surrender them to their enemy, the Bulgars. Nobody can produce any authority for this notice from the Americans. They had no jurisdiction over the Balkan regions, so far as the American voters are aware. The declarations of war against Germany and Austria-Hungary did not authorize President Wilson or any other American to sit in judgment between Greece and Bulgaria. The United States was not an ally of one or an enemy of the other, although Bulgaria was an enemy of the United States and an ally of Germany.

The influence of the United States in the negotiation of the treaty with Bulgaria was thrown in favor of Bulgaria and against Greece. The Americans were interlopers. The Greeks have just as much right to interfere in the quarrel between the United States and Carranza, and to allot a portion of Texas to Carranza, as the Americans at Paris had to allot a portion of Thrace to Bulgaria.

The Americans at Paris not only assumed an authority they did not possess in regard to territorial adjustments in Europe, but they



joined in the coercion of the small nations by insisting upon provisions in the treaties with Austria and Hungary, requiring the new nations to admit the overlordship of the "principal allied and associated governments" in securing the rights of minorities. This was nothing but a denial of the equality of nations, an encroachment upon the sovereignty of the small nations, and, of course, a "nullification" of all the high-sounding pretenses of the league of nations. Bear in mind that the "big five" are to be the overlords of Roumania, Greece, Jugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Austria—not the league of nations, but the allied and associated governments.

What a commentary upon the league, by its own creators! They do not trust it to do justice or enforce peace in Europe. If they did they would have placed it in control of the reparations work, the collection of the indemnity from Germany, the "protection of minorities," the reduction of fleets, &c. But no! In the realities of Europe and Asia the league of nations has no part. France, England, Japan and the others have seen to that. It is only in the realm of fancy, of poesy and romance that the league of nations is all-powerful. The nations have turned over to the league all kinds of control, except control over the German indemnity, the control of the seas, the control over small nations, and a few little items of that nature.

Think of the United States being one of five nations to step into Roumania to enforce the rights of the Magyars. What a fine chance of ratifying such a treaty in the United States Senate! Think, also, of the United States as a member of the league of nations, solemnly discovering that it had violated its own obligation by entering into treaties encroaching upon the political independence of small nations! What a spectacle it would be to witness the struggle of the United States vs. the United States, one of them the Dr. Jekyll of the league of nations, defender of the feeble, &c., and the other the Mr. Hyde of the Austrian treaty, brutally trampling upon the sovereignty of Roumania and scoffing at the league of nations as a humbug and a hypocrite!

It is small wonder that the victorious nations have continued the interallied military command under Marshal Foch, with amplified powers sufficient to enable it to throttle Germany, ward off bolshevism and vitalize the victory which the Paris conference emasculated by setting up the league of nations.

The larger allied nations are in a military alliance for their own self-preservation. Good! They can now survive even the league of nations.

*Wednesday, February 4, 1920*

### Viscount Grey's Plea

THE letter of Viscount Grey to the London Times is highly creditable to that skillful diplomatist. It will bear reading more than twice. Indeed, it must be read and scrutinized several times before all its implications can be appreciated. Let it be remembered that it was addressed to at least four audiences, namely, the British public, the American public, the United States Senate and President Wilson.

By enlightening the British public regarding American sentiment Viscount Grey has performed useful service, and if he had done nothing else his sojourn in Washington would have been profitable. The tendency in Britain to impute unworthy motives to the United States ought to be checked by the admonition and information imparted by Viscount Grey.

The letter virtually notifies Americans that Great Britain will not object to the reservations which have been framed by the Senate majority. Viscount Grey's entire argument is based, of course, upon the assumption that the proposed league of nations is the only remedy for the world's present condition; that the membership of the United States is a necessity, and that the league, once formed, will prove successful in preventing wars. Thus, Viscount Grey finds no difficulty in accepting the reservations, provided the result is American membership in the league. He relies upon the league itself to develop into what it is intended to be—the political controller of the world. His letter is a suggestion to President Wilson that he accept the Lodge reservations and hurry the ratification of the treaty in order that the league may be put into commission.

In a delicately balanced statement, intended for British, British colonial and American consumption, Viscount Grey makes a plausible argument in behalf of an essentially fallacious and inequitable plan—the granting of six British votes in the assembly of the league of nations. The British colonies, he says, are no longer colonies in the old sense, but are "free communities, independent as regards their own affairs, and partners in those which concern the empire at large."

That is a true statement, and because it is true it strikes at the integrity of the league of nations. How can all nations be equal in the league, while a set of them are in a private partnership, a league within the league, whose interests may conflict with those of other



nations? How can Canada and the United States be on an equal footing in the league, while Canada enjoys "preferential tariffs" with all other parts of the British empire? It may be said that tariffs are domestic matters, but, if so, how can they be made to stretch preferentially over certain "independent" nations, to the exclusion of other independent nations? Such discrimination is prohibited by the covenant. If Canada is to have special British tariff privileges she cannot truthfully claim to be an independent nation in the sense that the United States is independent. In short, Canada, Australia and the others cannot reap the advantages of membership in one league, the British empire, and yet, as members of the league of nations, deny similar advantages to other members of the league of nations. The two leagues cannot be so framed as to give special advantages to the British league, without dooming the league of nations to early disruption.

Viscount Grey glides gracefully over an obstacle which, nevertheless, remains, and will wreck the league unless it be removed. He says: "As regards this right to vote where they (the colonies) are not parties to the dispute there can be no qualification, and there is very general admission that the votes of the self-governing dominions would, in most cases, be found on the same side as that of the United States." This is an assumption on his part, and a contrary assumption would be equally justified. The fact is, that in a dispute between the United States and any foreign government outside of the British empire, there would be six British votes which might be cast solidly against the United States; and the dispute might concern the vital interest, honor, or even the independence of the United States, under the all-embracing provisions of Article XV of the covenant.

Viscount Grey's ingenious and well-intentioned letter does not remove the dangers that confront the United States in connection with the proposal that it become a member of a league of nations. With all the reservations framed and to be framed, the United States will not be able to join the league and yet retain freedom of judgment and action. No league of nations can be effective without borrowing sovereign powers from the nations, just as the United States gained its strength at the expense of the States. The proposed league of nations attempts to do this borrowing by stealth, and by degrees, silently bleeding the nations of their vital powers, whereas the United States was formed by the States in broad daylight, with full knowledge and intent that state sovereignty should be yielded to the extent required.



*Thursday, February 5, 1920*

## The Wrecking of Victory

THE evils inherent in the peace arrangement made at Paris are now revealing themselves, to the consternation of all free nations. The strange mixture of unreality, ignorance, greed and secrecy which marked the quality of allied leadership is now bringing forth miseries and failures. The peace that was hoped for is a dream. The victory over Germany has been wrecked by the allied politicians themselves. Germany is powerless for the time being, and the strongest allies have absorbed her assets and colonies, but there is no peace.

The allies are demanding 800 German criminals, the most bloody and savage murderers that ever joined in conspiracy, but there is every indication that Germany will not surrender these criminals, although she promised in the treaty to do so. Germany is encouraged by the failure of the allies to press the demand for William Hohenzollern. Their demand has been contemptuously refused by Holland, and yet the mighty victors stand halting, not daring to reach out and take into custody the arch criminal. How can they proceed with the trial of minor assassins when they lack courage to put Hohenzollern on trial? Is there a disposition to shield a man who wore a crown? Is a Hohenzollern still one of God's anointed? Free men look at the conduct of the allies in this matter with scorn and contempt. They will not recover their faith in the allied government leaders until these leaders do their duty in bringing Hohenzollern and all his crew before the bar of justice.

The breakdown of the treaty in regard to the trial and punishment of the world's assailants is typical of other breakdowns that may be looked for as the attempt to execute the treaty is continued. What was to be expected of an arrangement that set aside realities and provided a phantom league as the power behind the treaty? The provisions for the disarmament of Germany are satisfactory, but along with them are provisions which make it impossible for Germany to pay indemnities. Yet, without indemnities from Germany, some of the allies cannot recover their own strength. Hence, in the realities of the treaty, as well as in the fabulous part relating to the league of nations, the Paris conference failed. There were able and well-informed men available at Paris, but their services were not utilized. Soothsayers, adventurers, international financiers, pro-bolshevists, col-

lege professors and briefless lawyers constituted the advisory board of the four wise men who produced the miracle called the treaty of peace.

The United States is now denounced by Europeans as the cause of Europe's distress, following the failure at Paris. We appreciate the honest anger of Europeans and sympathize deeply with them in their predicament. No generous Americans are disposed to take too seriously the outbursts of London and Paris newspapers in condemnation of the United States, because it is well understood here that the allies were virtually compelled to take President Wilson at his own appraisal, and to accept the idea that he could and would compel his country, if necessary, to bend to his will in ratifying the treaty. Europeans did not understand as well as Americans that, however despotic President Wilson may have been in Paris, it is not possible for a President to be despotic in Washington without the consent of his countrymen.

Europe is in a perilous position. The ratification of the treaty of peace will not extricate the allies, for the treaty in itself is a failure. It does not give strength to the allies, but, on the contrary, it goes far to make their early recovery difficult, if not impossible. It does not solve any economic problems, but, on the contrary, it creates difficult problems throughout Europe. It does not place control of Germany under the league of nations, but expressly grants control to the reparations commission, with powers such as are usually possessed by a sovereign. Yet the treaty denies to the reparations commission the powers which would make it an effective link between the allies. The league of nations is set up instead, and its chief feature is the guarantee in perpetuity of such iniquities as the Shantung steal and other territorial apportionments accomplished in secret treaties which were concealed from the knowledge of the United States.

Why so much anxiety over the ratification of the treaty by the United States? Any American has a right to ask for light. He is entitled to ask for proof that the treaty is beneficial to the allies or the United States, or both. No one has yet produced any such proof. As the appalling conditions of Europe reveal themselves more and more clearly, Americans will understand better the completeness of the failure at Paris. If the Senate shall not have ratified the treaty before next November, it is quite possible that the American voters will give a mandate forbidding the government to make matters worse by becoming a party to the treaty.

*Sunday, February 8, 1920*

## The Battle Over the Treaty

THE greatest irreconcilable of all is President Wilson. It would be best for the United States and for the world if his refusal to compromise with the Senate should result in the non-adherence of the United States to the treaty made at Paris. The President is not aiming at the withdrawal of the United States from European entanglements, but his action may have that effect.

The party aspect of the treaty controversy is of interest to many citizens, although the struggle for present political advantage is not comparable in importance with the question of maintaining in all their integrity the principles upon which the republic has grown strong. Viewed through political glasses, it appears that the Senate Democrats have been placed in a hopeless position by the action of President Wilson. They must either stick to him in demanding the abandonment of reservations, which the country has plainly declared to be nothing but Americanism, or respond to their own impulses and desert their own leader for the sake of supporting Americanism.

What will they do? As usual, there is a division. Some of the more courageous Democratic senators have already given notice that they will no longer follow Mr. Wilson on the single-track road to defeat. Others have reasoned that if they desert their leader they will court disaster anyway, since their action would be a confession of the breakdown of the Democratic scheme of world peace. These senators in their hearts deeply regret that President Wilson made the peace negotiations so strictly Democratic. If he had enlisted the assistance of Republicans at Paris the responsibility for treaty ratification would have fallen upon both parties.

The Republican senators must step warily, however, if they would gain all the advantages which President Wilson's course is offering to their party. There is a possibility of cleavage in the Republican ranks, due to the belief, which we believe to be a mistake, that the majority of the people still demand the ratification of the peace treaty for the sake of joining the league of nations. In response to what they take to be the public demand, some Republican senators are anxious to ratify the treaty, and are willing to risk American safety, to some extent, rather than suffer the ceaseless bombardment of zealots who think they see a short cut to eternal peace and will not look into the facts.



The Republican side, however, is not so tainted with this timidity as to paralyze its effectiveness. It commands the situation by standing at the gate of ratification and requiring that the treaty shall not pass through without Americanizing reservations. Nothing that President Wilson or Viscount Grey or anybody else may say can set aside the controlling portion of the Senate, which insists upon Americanization or rejection.

Presumably, both parties will vote to bring the treaty again before the Senate, although even this is uncertain. Should the matter be brought up for Senate disposition the outcome might be the re-adoption of the Lodge reservations and then failure to gain a two-thirds vote for the resolution carrying those reservations. Another result might be the adoption of the Lodge resolution of ratification with reservations. In that case President Wilson would have the alternative of accepting the Senate reservations or refusing to proceed to ratification. He has said repeatedly that he will not coöperate in depositing reservations which would take the heart out of the treaty and the league, and he has characterized the Lodge reservations as nullifying the treaty. Hence, so far as expediting the ratification of the treaty is concerned, the moves about to be made by the Senate seem to be useless. They may prove to be far from useless, however, in another aspect, namely, the education of the people concerning the dangerous complications into which the United States would be plunged unless precautions at least as strong as the Lodge reservations were taken in the act of adhering to the treaty.

There are millions of Americans who are not yet sufficiently informed in this matter to be able to perform their duty as equals of President Wilson, Senator Lodge, or any other citizen, in deciding the destiny of their country. These citizens have been inoculated with the idea that the league of nations, framed at Paris, and an effective means of preventing war are one and the same thing. Nothing could be further from the truth. Until the truth crowds out this poisonous misapprehension, there is danger that some senators may be borne down by the weight of ignorant but well-meaning demands for the Wilson league of nations. Thus, it is barely possible that the United States might trade its birthright for a mess of pottage, believing that it was lifting the curse of war from mankind.

But we still repose our trust in the intelligence as well as the patriotism of the people. We do not admit that even a large part of the people can be fooled all the time.

*Monday, February 23, 1920*

### Washington's "Great Rule"

MILLIONS of Americans turned their thoughts yesterday to George Washington and his admonitions against entangling the United States in foreign politics. Millions more will think of Washington today, which is set aside as a holiday in his honor. The Farewell Address will be read in many places, and again every citizen has an opportunity to ponder these words:

"The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

"Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor or caprice?

" 'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

Washington's words were not addressed merely to his contemporaries. He looked forward as a father to the provision for his children. He spoke truth, which is not temporary. He is as truly a contemporary of the Americans of 1920 as he was of those of 1796, when he uttered the foregoing "great rule of conduct."

What do Americans find in 1920 which makes Washington's farewell advice so peculiarly apt? They see the nations of Europe in all aspects of "ambition, rivalry, interest, humor and caprice." The only desire upon which Europe is unanimously agreed is that the United States shall be drawn into an alliance, so that the strength and wealth of the United States shall be at Europe's disposal. The weak, disabled, corrupt nations are straining every nerve to involve the strong, unhurt, clean-hearted nation which Washington founded.

Washington was eager to develop the commerce of the United States. He favored close and friendly relations with Europe. It was "political connection" which he opposed. At this time the people of America are actually asked to establish the very "political connection" which Washington declared would "entangle our peace and prosperity." Americans are asked to approve of this fatal move on

the ground that "it's the only way out," and that "Europe must have help." The economic and physical ills of Europe are to be cured, somehow, by "political connection" with the United States; and the threat is made that if this political connection be refused Europe will plunge into chaos.

It is not true! The allied governments are destroying the value of the victory won by help of the Americans. The object of the fighting was to make free government safe. That object is now set aside by the allied politicians and another object set up. Their new object is: "Let each of us get such advantage as we can, by secret bargaining and by deceiving others, particularly America."

The peoples of the allied nations are victimized by this governmental policy of the allies. The rule of secrecy in diplomacy is essentially treachery to the public. By means of secrecy the individuals temporarily in office in each country acquire enormous power belonging to the people, which they employ in secret bartering with other officers wielding similar power.

The government leaders in Europe are incorrigibly wedded to secrecy and intrigue. America abhors such tactics. Europe, as a whole, is a nest of corrupt diplomacy. America has been free from such dangerous undermining of the people's rights. Revelations are now being made which prove, beyond question, that the French government is misusing the power of the people of France; that the British government is acting without the approval of its people and contrary to their interests; that the Italian, Serb-Croat and Japanese governments do not take their people into their confidence. Everywhere there is a distinction between government and people, the government contriving by secrecy to defraud the people of free decision in controlling their own affairs.

Americans want none of this. They want no secret correspondence with foreign governments, much less any alliances with them. The American government is responsible to the people, whatever any foreign government may be. The American people would not tolerate any usurpation of their power by the government, and would tear up any secret bargains made. The peoples of Europe should do the same thing. They will never have freedom until they hold their governments to strict account, and they need not expect America to waste much sympathy upon them if they do not care to make themselves free.



*Wednesday, February 25, 1920*

## Self-Interest of the Nations

“THE principal allied and associated powers,” meaning France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and the United States, find it much more difficult to maintain harmonious relations now than during the war. The single overshadowing motive that held them together during the war is now succeeded by motives of individual interest, which clash in many directions. The advantages which each nation seeks would be sought in any event, and the greater the freedom from entanglements the less danger there is of inflaming resentments to the point of war. No nation can be justly criticized for honorably attending to its own interests first. The duty of its government heads is to protect the country’s interest and honor, to conserve its traditions and strengthen its defensive resources, and to coöperate with other governments in good works for mankind without being drawn into ventures which may prove injurious to the country. It is most interesting to observe the proceedings of the European premiers at this juncture, when the world is being remodeled and decisions are being made which will leave effects that never can be effaced. Each premier is doing his best for his country, as he is in duty bound to do, but the composite result of the conferences is anything but satisfactory. The conflict of interest is too strong for the most adept conciliators. Hence, in spite of underlying good will, the “allied and associated nations” are drifting apart.

In theory the nations should be able to avoid misunderstanding by merely “getting together,” in a little syndicate or junta, with a loose arrangement committing them simply to coöperation in putting down any nation that might make unprovoked war—in other words, a league of nations. In fact, the nations find it impossible to work together in such a syndicate, even when bound by the most fragile ties. The obstacle to united action is inherent in the situation, always evident and forever immovable. It is this: United action necessitates pooling of national wills. This involves a surrender of freedom of action which no nation will make in good faith unless it is threatened with the alternative of immediate death. For proof of this statement look at the refusal of the British government to accept a French commander-in-chief until the British army was at the point of annihilation.

The allies accepted the league of nations because they could not

do otherwise. They are reducing it to shreds as rapidly as they can, pressed by self-interest, changing conditions and their clear knowledge that it does not meet their necessities. As they move away from the plan framed at Paris they bring forward one project after another which they had kept in the background, and all of these projects are inconsistent with the spirit of the ideal league of nations. The plans in some cases were evidently formulated months ago, while the governments concerned were vowing loyalty to the league. Therefore, the average impartial American citizen is apt to conclude that the European nations have intended from the first to manipulate the league of nations to their own ends. Behind the splendid front of "world service" and "abolition of war" the allies have been preparing to carry on secret bargaining exactly as before.

A loose alliance holds France, Great Britain, Italy and the smaller allies together. Under this arrangement the small-fry nations must take directions from the strong powers. That is not surprising; it is inevitable. It is what was planned under the covenant of the league. Poland will be forced to make peace with the bolsheviki; so will Roumania. Hungary is to be permitted to set up a monarchy. Turkey is to be allowed to hold Constantinople. Jugoslavia is to get a fair exchange for valuable concessions. Italy must give way to her stronger allies, and France must yield important advantages to her stronger ally. In the last analysis Great Britain dominates the situation.

If the United States should join this political group the test of strength would be between this nation and Great Britain. One would dominate and impress its will upon Europe, and would compel the other to yield important advantages. Which nation would prevail over the other? Americans have no doubt that the United States would prevail. But to what purpose? What would this nation gain by assuming leadership in European politics?

The political maneuvers in Europe are of interest to the United States so long as it is not involved in them. If it should become a guarantor of European adjustments, that would be a different story; then it would insist upon full participation in the discussions. By the simple device of refusing to become responsible for Europe, the United States can help its friends, steer clear of its enemies and avoid endless quarrels. The question whether the United States or Great Britain should dominate Europe, a question that bristles with suggestions of war, will never arise if the United States decides to remain merely a disinterested and impartial friend of all the allies.



*Thursday, March 4, 1920*

## The Coming Readjustment

THERE is talk of a loan to Germany, to enable her to resume activity, and thus begin indemnity payments. Evidently the hard business sense of the British government is making headway against the feeling of the French government, which opposes any concessions whatever to Germany. The concessions, however, must be made, and the sooner they are made the better it will be for France, Great Britain and the United States.

Americans will pay heavy war taxes for a period much longer than was expected, on account of the failure of the peace treaty to operate effectively in the matter of indemnities. Failure of Germany to pay the allies means failure of the allies to pay the United States. Thus American citizens are made the victims, to the extent of \$10,000,000,000 and interest.

The war is to cost the United States \$10,000,000,000 more than it should have cost. This constitutes a tax that will be felt sorely for a long time by every man, woman and child in the republic.

It is idly assumed by many persons that the cost of the war can be evaded; that it is a matter of bookkeeping only. But this is not true. The debt must be paid. It cannot be disposed of by issuing paper money or by accepting the renewal notes of the allies. The debt represents consumption of materials, which were accumulated and transported with great expenditure of labor. In place of this immense accumulation of materials there is now a crater whose diameter is Europe. This crater must either be filled or Europe must go down to a lower level of life. It has already begun to sink, in fact. It would have gone immediately, at one fell swoop, but for the device of paper money and the happy faculty of mankind in fooling itself. By the use of paper money the nations have cushioned their descent, and have even caused their populations to mistake the fever of inflation for the vigor of prosperity. There is wild extravagance in Europe; gambling, buying of excessively luxurious automobiles, costly wining and dining, flashing of diamonds and fraudulent business speculation. Wages are absurdly high, and so are prices of foodstuffs. The value in money is oozing out steadily as men discover that they have been fooling themselves. Thus the process of falling money values and rising prices goes on to the inevitable crash.

If humanity does not pay for the cost of the war by economy,



thrift and self-denial, it will pay the bill by sinking back to a scale of life not far above that of the Russian peasant. The mental and physical stature of the race will be reduced, with corresponding impairment of civilization.

The relationship of Americans to the conditions in Europe is subtle and close. So real are war and death to the people of Europe, after their terrible experiences, that their natures are hardened to the necessity of obeying nature's first law of self-preservation. They would drag down America if it would save themselves. They no longer have scruples in such matters. Their simple plan is like that of a drowning man—to catch at anything or anybody. Accordingly, it does not strike the European as an immoral thing to suggest that the debt to America be wiped off, and that another loan, say of \$4,000,000,000 be made by the United States to drag Europe from the pit. The suggestion that the debt shall be canceled, made in the same breath with a demand for another loan, is highly offensive to Americans, but they may as well prepare themselves for its constant reiteration.

Of course, this agreement will not be effective unless approved by the Senate, and the attitude of the Senate on the treaty gives no encouragement to those Europeans who were convinced that America was ready to sacrifice itself for Europe.

There is no probability that the people of the United States will suffer from readjustment as Europeans must suffer; but there must be a readjustment in the United States. The money of this country is affected by the same disease as that which is prostrating European money value—inflation. There is more paper money bearing the stamp of the United States than the situation warrants. The value in money is reduced, and prices and wages are thus placed upon a false level, completely deluding a large proportion of the people and inflicting hardship upon all of them. There is extravagance here also; gambling, foolish speculation, over-luxurious living and increasing laxity of morals. All of these symptoms of inflation warn the people to mend their ways. Their ways will be mended for them in due time, by stern law, but they can avoid some of the shock by practicing economy, individual and governmental, and by insisting upon contraction of the currency.

What rôle America will play as the rich uncle of Europe remains to be seen. Some help ought to be given, for selfish reasons if for no other. But it would be suicidal to leap into the whirlpool to save the drowning man.

*Sunday, March 7, 1920*

## The Founder of a Republic

THIS DAY has been made a holiday by the Czecho-Slovak republic, and there is reason to believe that it will be celebrated hereafter in perpetuity. It is the anniversary of the birth of Thomas G. Masaryk, first president of the republic, who has reached the age of 70 years, and who, blessed with health and strength, is completing the structure of the free government he has done so much to establish. The singularity of his standing among modern state-builders, and the resemblance of his career to that of George Washington, make him a peculiarly interesting figure to Americans.

The Bohemian people are not postponing until Masaryk's death the homage that is due him. In this respect they imitate the Americans, who recognized in their first President a man so fixed in purity of character that it was not necessary to observe precaution in doing him honor. Washington was acclaimed President by all parties, and so was Masaryk. Each was first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen.

Washington faced no greater or more disheartening tasks than those which confronted Masaryk. In the complexity of political problems the creation of the free nation of Czechs and Slovaks was a harder task than the creation of the United States. But for the burning patriotism and clear vision of two men peculiarly equipped for their work, there would have been no United States and no Czecho-Slovakia. Each of these men labored for the establishment of a "nation of laws and not of men," and each succeeded; but before the nation of laws could come into existence it was necessary that nations of men should be wrestled with, and that unstinted outpourings of the energy of the human heart should be offered, in meekness and with a "sad sincerity," as libations to the goddess of liberty. Each of the nation-builders "builded wiser than he knew." Washington, with all his marvelous foresight, did not fully comprehend a century's development, and doubtless Masaryk only dimly imagines the place which he and his country will occupy a century hence. His nation is stronger and more populous than was the nation that hailed Washington as its first President. His country's history goes further back, and in its pages are many glowing records of heroism and genius. The growth of the United States under a form of free govern-

ment such as that which Masaryk has established in Bohemia ought to inspire the most optimistic sentiments throughout the new republic.

One of the facts common to the establishment of both the United States and Czecho-Slovakia, which never should be forgotten, is this: France was the faithful ally and friend of both. Without France Washington's efforts would have been in vain. Without France Masaryk could not have achieved the independence of Bohemia. In the ever-enduring cement which binds the foundation stones of these republics is mixed the blood of Frenchmen shed for others in the cause of liberty.

Another fact that should not be forgotten is this: It was in this Capital, under the folds of the American flag, that Masaryk wrote the Bohemian declaration of independence. At that time his people were under the Hapsburg heel, and there was talk of giving the Bohemians "autonomy" in exchange for their surrender of liberty. The Hapsburg dynasty had endured for ages. There was no indication of the magnificent onslaught that Italy was preparing, much less any assurance of its triumph. Yet Masaryk felt and declared that Bohemia was and of right ought to be free and independent. His declaration has taken its place with the immortal expressions of man's determination to be free.

The anabasis of the Czecho-Slovak forces in Russia is an illustration of the happy ingenuity and resourcefulness of that nation. The exploits of the army that went around the world will be recounted whenever classic examples of endurance and audacity are cited. The best that an American can say of that campaign is that it was conducted as Americans would have conducted it. Many of the lads who became veterans in these adventures were, indeed, former immigrants to America, who had felt the vigor of the American spirit. They were directed by Masaryk from Washington, and he drew confidence and audacity direct from the American fountain.

The free republic of Bohemia goes into the twentieth century with exultant heart. It has hard problems, but it is free to solve them by itself, in behalf of its own people, without the interference of the accursed race that so long blighted Europe. Every American rejoices in the freedom of the Czechs and Slovaks, and wishes them happiness and prosperity. May the founder of their republic be spared to complete his wonderful work.



*Friday, March 12, 1920*

### Willing to Overreach America

THE importance of preserving exclusively American control over American policy is illustrated in the recent testimony of two members of the cabinet before Congress committees. Secretary Houston discussed financial matters with the House ways and means committee, and Secretary Daniels gave his opinions of naval policy to the House committee on naval affairs.

The Secretary of the Treasury does not favor additional loans to the allies, does not favor the McAdoo plan of a fresh bond issue and a reduction of taxation, and does not favor a bond issue for the purpose of paying a bonus to soldiers and sailors of the late war. It seems, however, that Mr. Houston favors a postponement of interest payments by the allies, in order that international exchange may not be worse disturbed and also to facilitate reconstruction in Europe.

No doubt the allied governments are doing their best, but some of their policies seem to be lacking in consideration for their obligations to the United States. Congress should be better acquainted with conditions before it consents to the indefinite postponement of payments due from the allies for money advanced. If it be true that credits granted by the United States have been used in part for the extension of territorial and commercial schemes by the borrowing powers, as well as for the expansion of naval and aerial armaments, there is no reason why the taxpayers of the United States should be compelled to carry the burden of \$470,000,000 interest which the allies owe annually to the United States. If Great Britain can advance \$50,000,000 for the establishment of British control over Persia and Persian resources, including oil for the operation of the British navy, it seems possible that she could squeeze out an installment upon the interest accruing upon her debt to the United States. There is no demand for the principal, amounting to some \$4,277,000,000.

If the sectional interests of southern France can shut out American imports and prevent the French government from imposing supportably heavier taxes, while the opportunists in control of the government are expending huge sums in enlarging the army and extending territorial acquisitions in Turkey, it does seem unjust to require American taxpayers to shoulder the burden of France's debt to this government. The taxes in France are not as high as they should be.

The people are escaping burdens which Americans are carrying. Let Congress investigate this subject before it accepts the vague general statement that the allies are unable to pay even an installment upon the interest due.

The league of nations is beginning to inject itself into the world financial situation. As the league is controlled by Great Britain and France, it is to be expected that the first "advice" of the league council or the international financial conference inspired by it will be to the effect that the United States shall postpone indefinitely, or mark off entirely, all financial claims against the allies.

We believe a majority of the American people would reject this proposal. We believe that if the league of nations should attempt to coerce this nation into accepting such "advice" there would be war.

Not all of the burdens of the war were borne by the allies. Americans have borne a great deal, and are now paying enormously excessive taxes because of their generous loans to the allies. Many costly derangements of domestic affairs have resulted from American contributions to the allies.

The sidelight thrown upon British naval policy in Secretary Daniels' testimony illustrates the hollowness of the claim that the league of nations will prevent naval expansion or enable any nation to do away with its defensive safeguards. The testimony indicates that the British government is aiming to build up an immense imperial naval establishment by urging and assisting each of the dominions to create a navy of its own. This plan is strictly in line with the attempt to give each of five British dependencies a separate vote in the league assembly. "All for one and one for all" is a good motto for the British empire, as well as for the United States. The effort to give the United States one-sixth of the voting power of the British empire in the league does not meet the American idea of national equality any more than the creation of a fleet by each of the British dominions meets the American idea of universal disarmament.

In his recent letter to Senator Hitchcock—a letter that contains numerous astonishing assertions and admissions—President Wilson made a distinction between governments and peoples. It is well to bear that distinction in mind, now that extraordinary emergencies confront the individuals in control of allied governments. These individuals are perfectly willing to overreach the United States, and in several recent instances have done so. They do not represent the sturdy, honest, faithful peoples whose hearts beat in unison with American hearts during the stress of battle.

*Sunday, March 21, 1920*

## The Two Great Mistakes

WHILE Americans are told that the hope of the world lies in an experimental league of nations, tied by a hodgepodge covenant hastily scrambled together at Paris, the disastrous mistakes of these same league-makers are shown in Europe. The Paris conference did not make peace, as it should have done. It committed blunder after blunder, from Prinkipo to Shantung, and these blunders are now causing profound changes among the nations, which the "supreme council" is trying to meet by committing fresh blunders. The United States, thanks to the Senate, has avoided a step which would have plunged it into the midst of the European turmoil. This nation stands strong and free, despite the frenzied efforts of foreign nations and international finance to make it the packhorse of the world's troubles.

The name of any allied or enemy nation in Europe conjures up details of some mistake or other by the Paris conference; but the two outstanding mistakes concern directly the two biggest nations, Germany and Russia.

The prime mistake was the failure to clinch victory over Germany. That mistake was made irretrievable when the league covenant was linked to the peace terms, thus causing the allies to believe that the United States was inextricably entangled in European affairs, and therefore an underwriter of Europe.

The second mistake, which time may disclose to be as disastrous as the first, was the failure of the allies to treat Russia as a friend and ally. That mistake may not yet be irremediable, but no time is to be lost if the allies are to prevent Germany from allying itself with Russia, thereby forming a combination before which the allies and their league of nations would fall easy victims.

When the peace treaty was celebrated in Paris, there was not a single voice raised in memory of the 12,000,000 Russians killed and wounded in behalf of the allied cause; not a Russian flag was to be seen. The peace conference treated Russia as an enemy, and actually carved up her territory and distributed it to claimants set up by Germany and the international communists.

When Ireland and Egypt pleaded for a hearing by the conference, the reply was: "We have nothing to do with the readjustment of



any except enemy territory." Thereupon the big four carved up Russia and China, both of them faithful allies. "Treaties are treaties," said the allies, "and must be observed." Whereupon they tore up the treaty in which they had solemnly agreed to give Constantinople to Russia.

The allies are now preparing to do business with the international adventurers who have gained temporary control of Russia. This is an act unfriendly to the Russian people, and directly beneficial to Germany.

Is it any wonder that the Germans are seizing upon this opportunity to cultivate friendship and trade with Russia? The evidence coming from Russia and Germany points all one way. Whether the "pink" government of Ebert shall turn red or gradually bleach toward white does not make much difference, for the trend of all German elements is toward coöperation with Russia. If the Germans should give way to communism, their junction with Russian communists would be almost instantaneous; but that outcome is not probable, for the Germans are not communists. They are, however, strongly socialistic, and in the reaction against the recent militaristic coup they are apt to strike up a sympathetic communication with Russian bolshevism.

The other elements in Germany—the financial, commercial and imperialistic—are striving mightily to bring about coöperation with Russia. They understand Russia, while the allies do not. The Germans are taking advantage of the weakness of Poland as well as of the anarchy in Russia. German traders are swarming into Russia. The Germans are assiduously stirring up hatred of the allies in the minds of all Russians. The propaganda material is abundant. Did not the allies betray and desert Russia? Did not the Paris conference carve up Russian territory? Did not the big four invite the bolsheviki to Prinkipo? Did they not solemnly promise to assist Kolchak and then betray him? Are they not beginning to trade with the bolsheviki, preliminary to recognizing the international bolshevik gang as the "government of Russia?"

The Germans will skillfully ring the changes on the allies' mistakes in dealing with Russia. Emphasis will be laid on the genuineness of Germany's friendship, and the Russians will be given tempting inducements to strike a bargain with the Huns. Against this propaganda, conducted by hundreds of thousands of Germans, the allies are and will be powerless so long as they remain in a benumbed trance, dreaming of a league of nations.

*Saturday, April 3, 1920*

## Not Binding Upon Americans

A PARAGRAPH in President Wilson's note to the so-called supreme council, on the subject of the dismemberment of Turkey, is worthy of attention:

"In regard to the relinquishment by Turkey of her rights to Mesopotamia, Arabia, Palestine, Syria and the islands, this government suggests that the methods resorted to in the case of Austria be adopted, namely, that Turkey should place these provinces in the hands of the great powers, to be disposed of as these powers determine."

In the name of the league of nations, the self-determination of peoples, and of all the fourteen points at once, what does this mean?

If it does not mean that there is no longer any hope that the league of nations will be created, there is no meaning in language. If it does not suggest that the present government of the United States favors the imperialist policy of the present premiers in Europe, what does it suggest? If it does not attempt to commit the United States to the transfer of peoples from one flag to another without their knowledge or consent, there is no virtue in human communication. If it does not approve of the secret treaties providing for the partition of Turkey, it is meaningless.

The fact is, of course, that the paragraph means exactly what it says. In a sense, it is gratifying evidence that the present government of the United States does occasionally glimpse realities and concurs in the determination of the "great powers" to assert their hegemony over Europe. The basis of this control is force, and the effect of the control is the denial of the rights of feeble nations and unorganized peoples. Necessarily, when the interests of the strong and the weak are in conflict, the weak must suffer.

But the fact that this message is conveyed by the present government of the United States to the great powers, telling them to go ahead and work their will in Asia Minor, does not in any sense bind the American people. There is no treaty which ties the United States to the allies. Americans are not ready to pass upon the first treaty prepared at Paris, much less the Austrian treaty, which seems to have become the model for an ideal dismemberment of Turkey against the will of the peoples concerned.

Nothing done at Paris, or subsequently by the so-called supreme council, is of binding effect upon the people of the United States. That fact should not be forgotten by any American citizen, for it affects his share of control over his own government in its relations with other nations, and thus, by involving peace and war, may affect the lives of his own children.

No word uttered by American diplomats or in diplomatic notes can bind Americans to recognize the right of the "great powers" to take over weak peoples against their will.

The people of France and Great Britain are grossly misrepresented at this time, in the blind and fatal policy developed by their premiers in dismembering the Turkish empire. Neither the French nor the British people can possibly be in favor of costly imperial wars, one after another, dragging their sons into battles throughout Asia Minor. Yet that is what is now being arranged, in pursuance of secret treaties signed, we regret to say, by Sir Edward Grey, and approved, we regret still more to say, by President Wilson in the paragraph quoted above.

M. d'Estournelles de Constant, a Frenchman whose character gives his opinion great weight, a friend of the league of nations, uttered a warning to his countrymen last spring which the present French government would do well to heed:

"France has too many colonies already—far more in Asia, in Africa, in America, in Oceania than she can fructify. In this way she is immobilizing territories, continents, peoples, which nominally she takes over. \* \* \* In the long run, it is a serious business. Spain, Portugal and Holland know this, to their cost. Do what she would, France was not able before the war to utilize all her immense colonial domain \* \* \* for lack of population. She will be still less able after the war." \* \* \*

France's colonial domain is larger than the United States, yet the French population is insufficient for home needs. The imperial projects now undertaken in the Turkish empire are pure insanity, so far as France is concerned, and cannot but result in disaster. Americans, who love France and will always be ready to aid her as a defender of free government, cannot bring themselves to approve of the allied adventures in Turkey, and no utterance by the officials temporarily representing the United States government can bring about American support of those imperialistic designs. Americans hold themselves free to sympathize with and aid struggling peoples to gain their independence, and to hold it after it has been gained.



*Sunday, April 4, 1920*

## A Friend in Adversity

THE German, Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires have been terribly beaten, and the last two of them extinguished, because of their attempt to assert domination over other nations. If that is not a warning to covetous peoples and governments, what constitutes a warning?

Yet the gentlemen temporarily in control of certain European governments seem to be utterly oblivious of the greatest object lesson of the recent war. They are adopting virtually the identical program of the Germans, Magyars and Turks; that is, they seek to take by fraud and force that which belongs to other nations, and which cannot be held without fighting and winning another war. In the recent war the governments now practicing imperialism were on the defensive, and they won largely because their cause was just; but in the coming war they will be on the aggressive, and their cause will be unjust. How can they expect to win when Germany, the steel-clad and stone-hearted savage, was broken to pieces?

Unfortunately much of this imperialism is directed against an ally and friend, now temporarily disabled—Russia. Instead of standing faithfully by Russia, assisting her loyal people to recover control of their government, and warding off all attempts to dismember her territory, the imperialists now directing British, French and Polish policy seem to be intent upon incurring the lasting hatred of the most populous white nation on earth. By taking advantage of Russia's inability to protect herself, and also by falling in with the schemes by which the bolsheviki hope to retain power, the three governments mentioned are making it impossible hereafter for Russia to range herself with them as a friend and ally. They will be fortunate, in fact, if they are not called to account by a reorganized and powerful Russian nation, capable of enforcing its will against them.

In the confusion following the war several large territories have been ripped away from Russia, notably the "republics" of Georgia and Azerbaijan. These territories have been recognized as independent by Great Britain and France. The United States government has refused to recognize them, and has also refused to recognize the so-called republics of Lithuania, Ukraine, Esthonia, Latvia and other territories taken from Russia by German or bolshevik intrigue.

Poland's fight against the bolsheviki ought to have the support

of the entire civilized world; but Poland's policy unfortunately alienates much of the world's sympathy, and thus frustrates united action in her behalf. Instead of confining themselves to indisputably Polish territory, the territory occupied by Poles and confirmed to Poland by the supreme council, and by the common consent of all nations, including Russia, the present Polish government has attempted to seize and hold territory that is purely Russian, inhabited by Russians and designated by the supreme council as Russian territory.

In the meantime, there are indications that the bolshevist leaders, having given the Poles a hard fight, are now preparing to bribe them into friendship by giving them part of the Russian territory. The bolshevist scheme is to agree to the separation of outlying provinces and to encourage independent governments therein, which will, in turn, rely upon the continuation of the bolshevik government in Russia for their own existence. Thus the bolsheviks hope to build up an influence which will help them to put down the internal loyalist reaction which is sure to come. The bolsheviks are also holding out all sorts of bribes to the "capitalistic" governments, hoping to make them interested in the maintenance of bolshevism as a means of retaining concessions obtained from them. Apparently some of the directors of allied governments have been induced by their own greed to make such bargains with the bolsheviks.

Thus the whirlwind harvest is prepared.

To the lasting credit of President Wilson, the United States stands as the friend of the Russian people. These paragraphs, in the President's recent note to the supreme council, will be cited in years to come:

"The government of the United States notes with pleasure that provision is made for representation on the international council which it is proposed shall be established for the government of Constantinople and the Straits. This government is convinced that no arrangement that is now made concerning the government and control of Constantinople and the Straits can have any elements of permanency unless the vital interests of Russia in those problems are carefully provided for and protected, and unless it is understood that Russia, when it has a government recognized by the civilized world, may assert its right to be heard in regard to the decisions now made.

"It is noted with pleasure that the questions of passage of warships and the régime of the Straits in war time are still under advisement, as this government is convinced that no final decision should or can be made without the consent of Russia."

*Monday, April 5, 1920*

## The Power to Make Peace

THOSE who oppose the resolution which proposes to terminate the state of war and repeal the war powers of the President are beginning to dispute the constitutional right of Congress to make peace. They intend to attack the resolution on this ground. They hold that peace can be made only by treaty, which the President alone has the power to negotiate.

While there are features of the pending resolution which are open to criticism, it will be safer for its opponents to attack it on other grounds than those of constitutionality. A little analysis of the matter ought to convince any American that Congress can constitutionally exercise the power to make peace, when necessary.

There is no limit to the powers of Congress in making war. Congress may do anything necessary to preserve the nation's existence.

The power to make war is the power to preserve the nation. The power to make peace is also the power to preserve the nation, as would be demonstrated very quickly in case of a disastrous war.

War is a policy which can be adopted only by Congress. It is a continuation and development of a precedent policy, merely substituting force to accomplish what had been unsuccessfully sought by protest and warning. The Executive executes the policy declared by Congress, using the means provided by Congress, and subject to the rules regulating the forces which are laid down by Congress.

The Executive and Congress may disagree as to the wisdom of continuing a war. The will of Congress controls.

Executive neglect, failure or refusal to treat for the termination of war does not affect the power of Congress to determine the national policy and to change the policy from war to peace.

An Executive might treat for the termination of a war which Congress did not wish to terminate. His effort would be in vain.

War is usually terminated by treaty, but not necessarily. But it is always terminated with the consent of Congress, and tacitly under its direction. This direction can be made explicit by law, but usually it is not necessary to do so.

The conduct of foreign relations is in charge of the President, operating through the Department of State. Congress created that department, and can abolish it. But while the President is in charge



of the conduct of foreign relations he is subject to law, and he cannot conduct foreign relations in violation of law. If Congress desires peace he cannot prosecute war, and if Congress desires war he cannot make peace.

The termination of war is the termination of the policy of force. The continuation of the policy may depend upon a foreign government, but the termination cannot be decided by a foreign government or by the Executive without the consent of Congress.

The Executive cannot declare war or declare peace. He can proclaim either, but only in pursuance of law. If peace is made by treaty it is law.

The reason why war is usually terminated by treaty is because it is usually desirable to treat with the enemy. But this is not always necessary or desirable. A treaty proposing to end war has just been rejected by the Senate, because it is not the policy of Congress to end the war on the terms stated in the treaty.

The Senate, in making treaties, acts according to the will of Congress. No treaty ending war can pass the Senate against the will of Congress, for the Senate is a part of Congress. The Senate does not possess two natures, although it exercises two powers. It exercises its share of the treaty-making power in harmony with its share of the lawmaking power. As the Senate helped to establish the policy of war, it will act according to its nature in dealing with that policy. As a lawmaker, it cannot favor war and then, as a treaty-maker, favor peace.

The Executive can make treaties only if the Senate concurs.

Congress can make laws even if the Executive does not concur.

Any act of Congress is just as much the supreme law of the land as is a treaty.

The power to terminate war by law is an indispensable alternative. It does not disturb, deny or destroy any of the powers of the Executive. It is available, however, in case he fails to exercise his powers, or attempts to abuse his powers, as, for example, an attempt to continue a war by refusing to negotiate peace, or by negotiating an unacceptable treaty for the purpose of having it rejected, or by refusing to proceed with ratification of a treaty to which the Senate had attached reservations.

The question of policy always remains in the control of Congress, and, by its power to overrule the Executive in the making of laws, Congress can compel him to execute its policy of war or peace.

*Wednesday, April 7, 1920*

### Why France Ignores the League

**F**RANCE is moving against Germany because the German government has violated the peace treaty. France is resorting to the use of force to compel Germany to observe the terms of the treaty as construed by France. This threatens war.

When the peace treaty went into effect the league of nations came into being. The covenant is a part of the treaty. France is a member of the league. The covenant provides that the league council shall take cognizance of any dispute threatening to disturb the world's peace. Another provision requires that disputes over interpretation of the peace treaty shall be referred to the council. Still another provision binds members of the league to refrain from the use of force until they have exhausted all the resources of the league.

The league of nations was created to stop war. Why doesn't it stop the war that is now threatened? Why doesn't it call France to account for daring to send her troops into German territory? Why doesn't the league council summon France and Germany to appear and submit their dispute to arbitration or conciliation, according to the covenant?

The answer is simple and plain.

The league of nations does not and cannot stop war. It is impotent, except for purposes of intrigue and intermeddling. France does not trust the league, but relies upon the stout hearts of her sons. When the treacherous enemy breaks the treaty there is nothing for France to do but move forward and compel the Germans to meet their obligations.

If France, instead of instantly checking the Germans in their stealthy attempt to nullify the treaty, had drawn up a protest and filed it with Sir Eric Drummond, secretary of the league of nations, she would have been literally complying with the treaty, but the world would have laughed her to scorn; so ridiculous is the method set up by the Paris conference to cure the world of war.

Where is Arthur J. Balfour, acting president of the league of nations? He is gone a-fishing, doubtless; for it may be asserted, on authority of honest Izaak Walton, that fishing is excellent in April in certain parts of England. Sir Eric Drummond, the soul of the secretariat, is on the job, of course, but he could do nothing more

than file France's protest in pigeonhole No. 345,756, subdivision XYZ, there to wait the pleasure of the British angler and his colleagues, of Italy, Japan, Spain, Belgium, Brazil and Greece. In the meantime the German troops would be digging in, while France, a trembling suitor, would be standing in London, knocking at the door of the league of nations.

What a sorry jest upon the world! What a plan to be suggested for the curbing of such tigerish passions as those of the Huns and Turks!

Yet the people of the United States are told that they are morally bound to join unreservedly the league of nations; that there is no other way; that the world will burst into war unless the league is formed; that the league will prevent war by adjusting all disputes that may arise, and that France will again be the victim of German atrocity unless the league is set up as a barrier.

At the very moment when the failure of the league of nations is demonstrated in actual test, American citizens are balloting upon presidential candidates whose attitude toward the league is a factor. Some candidates are for the league without reservations, believing that the people of the United States are determined to have the league. Some other candidates are trying to stay in the middle of the road by favoring the league, but with strong reservations, while others flatly oppose the league. The result of primary voting in Michigan is significant. Senator Johnson, an irreconcilable opponent of the league of nations, leads all the rest.

Can it be that the people of the United States are about to pass upon this question in cold blood, and that they will reach the same conclusion that has been reached by France?

Peace treaties become cadavers at the outbreak of war. The so-called peace treaty of Versailles is no exception to the rule. In the opinion of millions, on both sides of the Atlantic, the shortest road to peace is the completion of the war by the destruction of the German war-making machine—the German empire—and the prevention of further collusion by the separated German states. The league of nations would not take this straight road to peace, but would invite Germany in, to sit in judgment upon the very treaty which publishes her infamy. But France can take this road, and if necessary to her existence she will do so. We do not believe Americans will ever raise a hand to stop her, or permit any one to stand in her path.



*Friday, April 30, 1920*

## Learning the Truth

MUCH of the confusion of thought surrounding the presidential contest seems to be an inheritance of the evil days when the people of the United States were fed with prepared ideas on the question of peacemaking. So skillful and complete was the propaganda of the Paris treaty that millions of Americans had their opinions shaped for them so firmly that subsequent disclosures of the truth have had difficulty in removing serious errors.

Only yesterday a candidate for the Presidency, a man who is supposed to think for himself, declared that the league of nations as formed at Paris was a necessity, and that the United States could not avoid becoming a member of it. This opinion is obviously a mere parrot echo of the ideas predigested for the people. He has not applied his own clear thought to the subject.

As the campaign progresses the difference between the political parties may crystallize so that the average voter can express his will on the fundamental issue. In the meantime, it is incumbent upon the voter to know the truth, in order that his will may not be misdirected and do more harm than good. He cannot know the truth by merely swallowing without tasting the assertions put forth by interested parties. He must apply his own patriotism and reasoning powers to the problem—his heart for good action and his head for expedient action.

No American wants war. No American hates Europe or wishes harm to Europe. No American is trying to turn the United States away from Europe or to shirk its duty. The plea that the United States is a renegade to honor and duty if it does not subscribe to the bungled bargain of Paris is not an argument to put to sensible men. Let it be placed on the shelf with the childish bogey-man and the voodoo.

The question is not, Shall the United States turn its back on Europe? It is, Shall the United States play its part in this world according to its own conscience and its own will, freely commanding its own action and exclusively directing its own policy?

If the American people shall answer this question in the affirmative, there is no ground for fear that their decision would mean the abandonment of America's duty. The conscience and generosity of the United States would be alive and intact.

If the decision should be in favor of the entanglement known as the league of nations, there would be good ground for fear that the United States would not do its full duty; not because of a desire to shirk, but because its freedom of choice and action would be hampered by the will of foreigners.

Nothing could be more certain than an American revolt against foreign interference. Let any citizen apply, for a moment, his idea of British, French, Italian, Japanese, Greek, Spanish, Brazilian or Belgian interference in American affairs, and he will at once admit that it would be so distasteful that he would instantly revolt against it.

Yet, with the United States a member of the league of nations, as formed at Paris, it would be necessary to submit to this admixture of foreign direction of America's policy. The "heart of the league" is the substitution of international for national authority. The league, and not the United States, must direct American policy if the league is to send American troops to Turkey, pledge America's credit for Europe's debts, equalize the world's food supply by drawing on America's surplus, regulate the size of the United States army and navy, and otherwise exercise supervision over the nations. It was discovered in 1787 that the American States and the newly created United States could not exercise simultaneous sovereign power over the same subjects. Congress will discover the same fact if the voters next November should decide to join the league of nations.

Will the voters so decide? A year ago they were of that mind. They had been taught by copious propaganda to believe that the treaty framed at Paris was the only possible solution of the problems created by the war. Was it not a "peace" treaty? Did it not contain a complete covenant of a league to stop wars? Did not its advocates denounce the Senate as disloyal and criminal for failing to ratify it forthwith?

A year's scrutiny of the treaty has shown not merely that it is far from being the only possible solution of the war problem, but that it is perhaps the worst plan that could have been evolved. Millions of Americans who took the treaty on faith are now somewhat shamefaced at their credulity, and have inwardly resolved to be more sure of their ground before they become so excited again. The impulse which demanded the treaty, "without dotting an 'i' or crossing a 't,'" was a good impulse, as it was based upon the desire to stop wars. The fault was that the demand was made without sufficient knowledge of the truth.

We believe that American voters now know the truth.

*Monday, May 3, 1920*

## Qualities of a President

NINE out of ten business men, when asked for their political views, reply emphatically, "What this country needs is a business man for President." They are willing to forget political lines if they can be assured of a candidate who will be careful to promote the business interests of the country. They criticize politicians, college professors, lawyers and office holders, and seem to be convinced that everything would be smoothed out if a man experienced in business were placed in the White House, even if he should be ignorant of governmental affairs. Indeed, many business men believe that the next President would be successful in proportion to his ignorance of government and his knowledge of business.

Yet this is an extremely short-sighted view, and if it were adopted it is quite probable that the first protest would arise from business men themselves.

A man whose activities had been confined to business, no matter how extensive the business or how capable he had proved himself to be in managing it, would be a failure in the White House—a lamentable failure—unless he should develop qualities quite apart from his business gifts and somewhat in conflict with them.

The Presidency is not a business office. The affairs of the United States government, so far as they are administered by the President, differ so radically from ordinary business in nature and in the manner of their administration that a strong business executive, fixed in business habits, would be under a heavy handicap. The qualities which had made for success in business would make for failure in the Presidency, unless immediately tempered by other qualifications which are not gained in a business career.

The first point to be remembered, which many business men overlook entirely, is that the President of the United States, to be successful, must always coöperate with Congress, while preserving his independence within his own sphere. He is not in control of the government, except as an executor of laws enacted by Congress and as the spokesman and negotiator for the United States in dealing with foreign nations. A knowledge of law and law-making as developed by Congress is well-nigh indispensable to a President. He can succeed without this knowledge if he be a Roosevelt, but Roosevelt would have been more successful in many directions if he had



possessed it. As for foreign relations, it is evident that something more than a business experience is necessary if a President is to carry the government "through the corrupted currents of this world" with safety and success.

A President is not merely denied control of affairs by the limitations of law, so that his method of action is entirely different from that of a business executive, but he is sharply reminded on every hand, from the moment he takes office, that the government of the United States is not a business, and that he must refrain from methods that are second nature to a business man. A railroad executive would look after his company first, last and all the time. A labor leader would work solely for the welfare of the organization to which he was responsible. But the President of the United States must look at all questions from the standpoint opposite to that of the business executive or labor leader. The President must consider the public and the government, and must seek to protect them by adopting methods exactly contrary to the methods employed by business.

A business man instinctively endeavors to make his business prosperous and profitable. He is a failure if he does not make money. A President, on the other hand, would be a failure if he should attempt to make the government a paying institution. His duty does not lie in that direction. In many instances it is worse than folly to economize in government, and the American people have repeatedly commanded their public servants not to regard the government as a business institution. The people expect the government to cost money. They ask for economical government, but the prime purpose in view is not economy, but government. A thousand examples could be cited in which the people have directed or approved the expenditure of billions of dollars in ways which are anything but economical. All this is repugnant to the business man's habit of mind, and a business man in the White House would become so uncomfortable that he would probably soon run counter to the public will in his well-meant endeavor to dam the flood of expenditures.

A knowledge of large business affairs would be useful to a President, of course, if he would employ this knowledge as a supplement to other qualifications. One man's life, however, is too short to grasp all the advantages of experience in business, law, legislation and diplomacy. The best that can be expected is that a President shall so combine happy qualities of mind, heart and experience as to be able to coöperate with the other branches of the government in handling the most difficult of all tasks—the task of government.

*Monday, May 17, 1920*

## Joined to the World

THE delegates to the two great conventions will make a mistake if they confine their attention to domestic questions and the selection of candidates qualified to deal only with domestic problems. In too many quarters it is lightly assumed that a shrewd phrase or two may dispose of the treaty question, and that, when this is disposed of, there will be nothing in foreign relations calling for the attention of the American voters in shaping their country's course during the next four years. It is thought that America is out of the war, that Europe is settling her own problems and that purely domestic questions will and should absorb the attention of the next President and the next Congress.

There will be domestic problems, admittedly difficult enough to engage the whole time and energy of the next administration. It is erroneous, however, to consider these problems as purely domestic. Almost all of them are involved in larger problems affecting the relations of the United States with other nations. These relations must be adjusted with the wisest statesmanship available if domestic questions are to be settled in a manner conducive to the general welfare. Some of the questions that seem simple are extremely complicated, and the off-hand suggestions sometimes made for their solution would, if adopted, merely make matters worse.

A little thought reveals how closely the domestic prosperity of the United States is tied up with foreign relations. Take the most obvious subject, the "high cost of living." Every individual in the United States is affected by the universal disturbance of the equilibrium of production and consumption, which has deranged money systems and put the temper of the world on edge. The United States cannot settle this question in, for and by itself. It must and will coöperate with other nations; but not through a dreamy "league of nations," which is a political nostrum. It will seek greater production of necessities, the reduction of foolish credits, the enhancement of value in currency, the prompt payment of debts, the elimination of luxuries and the better distribution of human energy in agriculture, building, navigation and transportation. There is little of a political nature in these activities, and no league of nations is necessary or wise. But there is need of constant consultation with other governments, on a basis of good faith and confidence, which will insure to



individual enterprise the protection needed to justify an increase of international investment and development.

Americans have millions and hundreds of millions which they can invest in foreign fields. But no American will turn loose this stream of gold with which to irrigate Europe unless he can be assured of safety and a square deal. For this reason the maneuvers of some of the politicians at the head of foreign governments are extremely shortsighted, and deeply injurious to their own countries. When Americans see the policies of certain governments manipulated to the disadvantage of the United States and American trade and commerce, at the very moment when the help of America is implored to save those governments from ruin, a feeling of disgust and resentment is aroused which no smooth words or diplomatic silences can dissipate.

Each nation will determine the character of its own government. If some European governments are directed by tricky politicians it will not be the fault of Americans, but it will be their fault if they place the United States government in equally incompetent and unworthy hands. Americans need not suffer injury from foreign governments if they will keep their own government wise and patriotic. They cannot afford to do otherwise; for the tendency of Europe is to debase its governmental policies and overreach the United States if possible.

The United States has a bill of \$10,000,000,000 against European governments. Therefore, it is interested in them and their financial prosperity. The productive capacity of the United States will soon exceed domestic demands; therefore, all Americans are interested in developing foreign trade. Wars make the cost of living high; therefore, Americans are interested in promoting such relations among nations as will prevent wars. The United States has invested nearly \$4,000,000,000 in ships; therefore, Americans desire to develop commerce. Some nations have been proved treacherous and bloodthirsty; therefore, Americans wish to exclude immigration from such polluting sources. Other nations are in control of murderous anarchists who have gained wealth and are trying to break down this nation; therefore, Americans want a government that will be watchful and well informed.

Many other factors connect the United States with foreign nations, and call for the consideration of delegates to the great conventions. Interest and patriotism alike call for the formulation of platforms and the selection of candidates with foreign relations in mind.



Friday, May 21, 1920

## The World's Best Guarantee

IN THE midst of confusion at home and abroad, Vice-President Marshall has uttered a few very sane and suggestive words to his fellow Democrats of Indiana. They are applicable to all Americans. The war, he says, was not a Democratic or Republican war, and the peace will not be peace if it be made either as a Democratic or a Republican peace. He gives a still broader hint to President Wilson on the desirability of a compromise:

"I still hope that the President and the Senate will reach an accord upon such terms as will enable the treaty to be ratified and a *de jure* peace to be made with the government of Germany; but as I grant to no man the right to read me out of the Democratic party or say to me that I cannot stand upon its platform, advocate the election of its candidates and vote for them, I, myself, will not say to any man that his views upon the league of nations inevitably place him without the Democratic fold."

This significant remark deserves the attention of Republicans, who are supposed to be expert in borrowing good ideas wherever they find them. Mr. Wilson's lieutenant pointedly warns against a political bigotry, which would make adherence to the treaty and league "as written" the test of a Democrat. That effort is to be made, apparently, to the imminent danger of the Democratic party. It is essentially an attempt to consummate a Democratic peace, following an unfortunate attempt to distinguish between the patriotism of Democrats and Republicans. Inasmuch as the merits and demerits of the treaty and league are nonpartisan questions, and cannot be determined by any political party, but must be passed upon by all parties and all voters, it is evident that Vice President Marshall's suggestions are of the highest political value to the Democratic party, if it will heed them.

Republicans may well apply these remarks to themselves. If there are groups which intend to force their treaty opinions upon the party at the Chicago convention, to the extent of making opposition to the treaty or the league a test of Republicanism, they would do well to consider the disaster that would follow the accomplishment of their purpose. The people are wiser than any group of politicians. The people will not be stampeded or deluded into taking an extreme and unreasonable position in establishing their relations with other

nations. No party stratagem or political hatred sways the people. They are not bound to either party. They wish to adopt the policy best calculated to secure the welfare of the United States. If they cannot accomplish this directly they will accomplish it indirectly by choosing the man who in character and principles comes nearest to representing their will. He may be a Democrat or he may be a Republican. What does it matter, if he executes the people's will?

It is not in disregard or contempt of political parties that the foregoing observations are made. Parties are indispensable, and every patriotic American should join a political party in order to give and receive the benefit of teamwork in pushing what he believes to be right policies. The point sought to be emphasized here is that the peace treaty and the league of nations are not properly subjects of partisan or interpartisan controversy. They belong to another field entirely, just as the question of war belonged to another field. Imagine a controversy in April, 1917, between Republicans and Democrats, or between factions in either party, on the question of declaring war against Germany! The absurdity and folly of it would have been no greater than the present partisan controversy over the making of peace and joining the league of nations.

If the world were happy and whole the throwing of this question into American politics would not matter so much. The pity of it is that the world is sadly in need of honest, common-sense leadership, which it is not obtaining. The nations that defeated Germany are not in harmony, largely because they have been mismanaged by incompetent politicians who have lost sight of the vital necessity of subordinating minor questions to the general welfare. The peoples of Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States are good friends and anxious to do justice to one another. Each nation needs the support of the others in bringing order and peace again, and in making themselves safe against traitor peoples.

What is the duty of Americans? Obviously, it is to safeguard America, purge it of evils and make it strong. With this nation unfettered, strong and pure the world will have the best possible guarantee of order and peace. Americans cannot tell other peoples where their duty lies, but they can remain friendly with the allied nations and can be patient while those nations struggle to rid themselves of incompetent ministers. All the allied peoples are aiming at the same thing—liberty and peace. If Americans attend to their own duty of safeguarding America's absolute independence and liberty, they will best befriend other nations.



*Tuesday, May 25, 1920*

## Armenia—and Mexico!

A LARGE proportion of the American people will receive with stupefaction the news that the President has asked Congress for authority to make the United States responsible to the league of nations for the pacification, protection and uplifting of Armenia. A smaller proportion of the people had expected this request, as a development of the plan to involve the United States permanently in the affairs of Europe.

In a moment of aberration the Senate recently adopted a resolution requesting the President to dispatch a warship to Batum with a force of marines, "with instructions to such marines to disembark and to protect American lives and property" at the port of Batum "and along the line of the railroad leading to Baku." This resolution spoke sympathetically of the sufferings of the Armenians and congratulated them upon the recognition of the independence of the republic of Armenia by the supreme council and the United States government. Since the resolution was adopted, the Russian bolsheviki have taken Baku, and are either in possession of Batum or preparing to take it. Therefore, if the President should comply with the Senate's request, a broad road will be opened for war between the United States and the Russian bolsheviki.

The President promptly takes this resolution as a hint that the Senate favors an American mandate over Armenia. The Senate obviously did not intend to convey such a hint, but it made such a blunder when it adopted the resolution in question that it will now have difficulty in making clear its true intent. The resolution was one of the political subterfuges too often adopted by both branches of Congress, and was meant to be merely a sop to the voters who are interested in Armenia. But with all its insincerity, it does not constitute an intimation that the Senate favors the assumption of a mandate over Armenia. Of course the President knows the Senate's real attitude, and his shrewdness in turning the tables upon the Senate by quoting its own resolution will be admired by all politicians.

As an additional reason for assuming the burden of Armenia the President alludes to the action of the British, French and Italian premiers at San Remo, "inviting" the United States to become responsible for Armenia. Mr. Wilson thinks this invitation should



be accepted, and that the American people wish to become protectors of Armenia.

The allied premiers at San Remo completed their plans for the partition of the Turkish empire according to secret treaties made during the war, which were concealed from the United States and were not known to Mr. Wilson until he arrived at Paris to make peace on the basis of open covenants openly arrived at, according to the pledge given by the allied premiers in agreeing to the armistice. The secret dismemberment of Turkey gave Mesopotamia and Palestine to Great Britain, Syria to France, Adalia to Italy, and Smyrna to Greece, and left Armenia to be apportioned later. The premiers now ask that the United States take over Armenia, which contains no oil fields, minerals, or other attractive resources. On one side of Armenia are the bolsheviki and on the other are the Turks. Wars and massacres in Armenia are incessant on account of the inextricable mixtures of races and religions. The people are as ignorant as the people of Mexico.

Mexico! Does not that word ring in the ears of all Americans, from the President down to the humblest citizen? If it is the duty of Americans to go to the other side of the world to assist Armenians, is it not the duty of Americans to assist the starving, plundered and terrorized Mexicans? Why is it that the cry of Armenia is heard and the cry of Mexico falls on deaf ears? Armenia is far off, but Mexico is at America's doorstep. The Armenians number perhaps 3,000,000, and the Mexicans number 14,000,000. The Armenians are in Europe, where powerful civilized nations nearby can befriend them. The Mexicans are in the New World, which cannot be entered by any nation of Europe. The United States warns European nations to stay out of this hemisphere and will not suffer them to enter, even for the purpose of assuming mandates for the uplift of backward nations. Mexico is rich in oil and minerals, and therefore several European nations doubtless would be glad to assume responsibility for its moral welfare, but the United States interposes its veto. In the covenant of the league of nations stands a perpetual barrier, if words are barriers, which excludes Europe from mandates in this hemisphere. Inferentially the United States becomes responsible for backward countries when it insists upon barring other nations from such responsibility.

But Americans need not go to the covenant of the league or any other bargain, secret or openly arrived at, in order to ascertain their duty. Their hearts tell them that charity begins at home.

*Friday, May 28, 1920*

## The Problem Made Simple

THE President's veto of the peace resolution and the action of the Senate committee on foreign relations, foreshadowing rejection of the Armenian mandate, mark another advance in the process which is simplifying the problem of America's relations to other nations. The people must pass upon this problem, and the fact that it is becoming clearer and simpler is gratifying to every believer in popular government.

The veto message is a step forward, because it discloses that there is nothing in America's foreign relations which is not already known to the people. Mr. Wilson uses vigorous language in condemning the resolution, but he does not adduce any new arguments or facts which might incline wavering voters to accept the league of nations. It is noticeable that the President does not challenge the constitutionality of the peace resolution. He opposes it because it does not accomplish peace in the manner desired by him, not because it would be futile in achieving peace. The resolution ignores the fourteen points, and thus, in his opinion, it would make the United States turn its back upon Europe. But the treaty itself ignores some of the fourteen points. Nowhere in the treaty or the covenant is there any provision for compelling a reduction of naval armaments. The power that now rules the seas is left unchallenged in its supremacy.

There is no serious inclination in Congress to pass the peace resolution over the veto, because the entire question is soon to go before the people. The veto, therefore, is of importance chiefly as revealing that the President has no further facts to place before the people to guide them in forming judgment on the nature of the relationship which this nation should adopt toward European nations.

The vote on the Armenian mandate is interesting in its disclosure of Democratic opposition to President Wilson's request. In a sense the Armenian proposal is "putting the cart before the horse," because it calls for action by the United States under the league of nations when the United States is not a member of the league. But from the President's viewpoint it is a consistent move, as he goes forward as far as his powers permit in the direction which would be taken by the government if it should join the league. The President presupposes that the United States will join the league. Heretofore his Democratic supporters in the Senate have acted according to the



same presumption. But now, on the Armenian question, some of the most stalwart Democratic supporters of the league are seen to falter and then join the opposition. They have not yet said that their vote means opposition to the league, but they will have difficulty in opposing the Armenian mandate and supporting the covenant, for the reason that the framers of the covenant shaped the language with a view to American overlordship over Armenia, according to understandings reached with the European powers. A senator who votes for the league and against assuming a mandate under the league is laying himself open to the criticism of trying to have the United States dodge its responsibilities.

The Senate is expected to adopt the committee report rejecting the mandate proposal. Then the conventions will be held, the parties will name candidates and define their position on the treaty question, and the issue will be in the hands of the people.

The contrasting pictures of conditions north and south of the Rio Grande River are sufficient to remind Americans that they cannot too sacredly cherish the blessing of actual free government. They are about to decide for themselves a question of overwhelming importance to themselves and their posterity. This question affects the soul of their government, being in its essence a choice between continued freedom of action by Americans in directing their government and a surrender to foreigners of that freedom of action.

The poor Mexican people cannot now make such a choice. They are not in control of their government, and do not know how to control it. They have a well-worded constitution, given to them by the Indian who sprang from the soil and developed qualities like those of Lincoln. But this constitution has been set aside by usurpers of power. The right of the Mexican people to vote is not denied in law, but in fact they are robbed of the vote. If the ruler of Mexico for the time being should decide to make Mexico a member of the league of nations he could do so without consulting the people. He could accept a mandate over Armenia without the knowledge or consent of the people, and could send them to fight the Tartars, bolsheviki and Turks. If the Mexican senate should disagree with him he could dissolve it and call another, or, if it should be peculiarly stubborn, he could reduce its numbers by ordering the members out to be shot.

The freedom of will which ennobles the American nation, and which makes the voice of its people the voice of God, will decide the question of retaining or surrendering that freedom of will.



*Monday, May 31, 1920*

### For Americans to Decide

UNLESS President Wilson should be utterly defeated and repudiated at San Francisco a few days hence, the people of the United States will be asked to support the league of nations proposal, and one of the great parties will have pledged itself to make the United States a member of the league if the people should return that party to power.

It is not an abstract league of nations which Americans are asked to support, but the specific covenant framed at Paris, under which the league council is now attempting to take over the supervision of nations.

The league as shaped at Paris will probably either gain power and rule many nations, or be denied power and die; although at present it is in a state resembling neither life nor death.

By joining the league and surrendering jurisdiction over America's foreign policy to it, the United States can help powerfully to make the league paramount to all governments outside the British empire, and perhaps paramount to the British system of nations. By refusing to join, the United States can prevent the league from being, at most, anything more than a subordinate to the present British system.

The most powerful individual in the world is Mr. Lloyd George, prime minister of Great Britain. This is due partly to his own genius and energy, and partly to the circumstances resulting from the failure of the Paris conference to make an effective peace. Another individual would be powerful in Mr. Lloyd George's place, but present history is the product of the combination of a certain man in control of a certain government, dealing with a certain set of problems. It is as idle to speculate on what might be as upon what might have been.

The United States and the nations composing the British empire are friendly, and ardently desire to remain friends. There is an instinctive dread among all English-speaking peoples of the effects of a war between the United States and Great Britain. As the two nations are in the van of civilization and resources, a clash between them might destroy civilization itself. The avoidance of any act or policy which would tend to provoke a conflict is the plain duty of every American and every Briton.

The life impulses of the United States and those of the British empire are different in nature. It is the impulse of the United States to grow by internal development and to avoid accretions which would destroy the homogeneity of the American government or people. It is the impulse of the British empire to grow by external accretions, without regard to government, people or language. The American people desire to rule only themselves. The British people naturally desire to rule others.

In obedience to the most powerful impulses of his people, Mr. Lloyd George is making present history in many parts of the world. He is holding the league of nations in suspense, pending the momentous decision of America. With admirable caution he is trying to avoid all steps which might bring the colossal English-speaking forces into collision.

Any one who will bear in mind the fundamental difference in the tendencies of the United States and the British empire, and then analyze the covenant of the league of nations, will almost certainly conclude that it is impossible for these mighty powers to bind themselves in this compact without risking a collision.

The United States is made up of many nationalities. Citizens retain a natural love for the land of their origin. Any controversy between any country and Great Britain is almost sure to arouse a portion of the American people. If the United States were in the league it would be compelled to share in the adjustment of all disputes everywhere, and, since the British empire touches nearly all other nations in some respect, there would be fruitful opportunities for American politicians to stir up quarrels with the British people. The demands of parts of the British empire for self-government would provide fuel for bitter controversies.

British interests throughout the world and the British system of government make it easy and natural for the British governing authorities to take a hand in international disputes. The American governing authorities have found it difficult and unnatural to participate in these questions. The American people do not understand foreign politics and are not interested in international intrigues, having no territory or interest to be endangered and no ambitions to gratify.

Separate, going their own way according to their nature, there is room in the world for the British empire and the United States as good friends, coöperating in the arts of civilization. The American people may decide to keep this nation in its natural orbit.

*Saturday, June 12, 1920*

## The Momentous Choice

THE country stands on tiptoe awaiting the result of the balloting at Chicago. The delegates did a hard day's work yesterday, but doubtless scores of them were anxious to continue in the hope of forcing a break in the lines. Taken as a whole, the convention was decidedly matter-of-fact in its efforts to reach a choice. The delegates were not swayed by emotion, although many of them were evidently voting in the dark, waiting for the first sound of the approaching bandwagon and standing ready to change their allegiance at a moment's notice.

The men placed in nomination are almost all worthy of the Presidency. There is hardly a poor piece of timber in the lot. The leaders in the race are exceptionally good Americans, and the convention would not be making a mistake if it should unite upon any one of them. Some of the dark horses, also, who have received only a few votes, are excellent material, and if the struggle should become a deadlock their small figures may suddenly expand.

Naturally, last night was given over to earnest conferences by the leaders from various States, in the endeavor to agree upon a candidate who might be nominated on the first ballot today. Whether the night shall have brought wise counsel will appear very soon. Inasmuch as the three candidates receiving the largest vote have all shown gains during the four ballots, it seems improbable that any one of them will be willing just yet to throw his strength to a dark horse. Each is hoping that the slight increase in his case will be regarded by the delegates as the first glimpse of the bandwagon which all of them are so anxious to be first to perceive and mount.

Gov. Lowden showed the greatest proportionate gain. He traveled at a rate which, if continued, would have gained the prize. Senator Johnson was higher on the third than on the fourth ballot—an ominous sign, indeed. Gen. Wood, although leading all, did not gain as rapidly as a winner should. But each of these candidates has reason to indulge in hope, for any gain at all is encouraging.

It seems probable that the party leaders have done their utmost to induce one of this trio to withdraw, either in favor of one of the others or a dark horse. Judging by past conventions, it is also probable that each of the leading candidates has a good understanding with his managers and close friends, as to the candidate he will favor



if the moment comes when he himself cannot hope to win. This candidate may be one of the darkest of dark horses, but he could soon draw conquering strength if he should suddenly inherit the vote of one of the leaders. Delegates would then be sure that the winner had appeared, and they would gladly join his column, thus making his victory early and overwhelming.

If the contest should take this turn, the country might be treated before nightfall to the unexpected triumph of a dark horse like Senator Harding, for example, who occupies a strong strategic position, in case the three leading candidates neutralize one another's chances.

So long as Wood, Lowden, Johnson and Harding are virtually holding their own, it is not to be supposed that they will be willing to withdraw. Unless the heads of delegations, therefore, have been enabled by this morning to reach an agreement among themselves which will materialize the winner, the balloting is likely to continue for a long time, until the struggle itself brings a contestant to the point where the delegates begin to regard him as a winner. At the moment any candidate attracts the magic and mysterious prestige of success, he will have votes to spare, suddenly, and drawn from all other candidates, whether the delegates have been released or not.

Above all things, the delegates wish to be on the side of the winner, on the ballot which makes him a winner. No delegate will willingly vote for a loser on the decisive ballot. The delegates are politically ambitious, as a rule, and it would stand them in good stead if they could come to Washington after next March, drop in at the White House to see the President and casually remind him that they had voted for him on the ballot that made him the nominee of the party.

There are thousands of factors that come into play in nominating a candidate, but they all converge into the one prime factor of availability. The nominee must bear inspection from North, East, South and West. Only a few of the candidates meet the tests of availability from all angles; perhaps not one of them is without serious drawbacks from certain viewpoints. The delegates are anxious to choose the candidate least liable to be picked to pieces later on account of some flaw which was not disclosed at convention time. As the thousands of factors are brought into competition and balanced against one another, the suitability of each candidate is subjected to an X-ray of intense scrutiny. The candidate who can go through this ordeal best, and whose managers have otherwise conducted his race with discretion, is the man who stands the best chance of nomination.

*Sunday, June 13, 1920*

## The Republican Nominees

THE Republicans of the United States have met and solved with consummate skill the two problems of defining their battle plans and choosing their leader. They have mixed courage with discretion in shaping their platform, and have nominated a candidate who has more points of availability and fewer handicaps than any other man considered for the nomination. The natural law of the survival of the fittest operates with inexorable force in a great national convention, where all factors are in open competition. Individuals do not know all the factors involved, but the whole convention knows them all, and the interplay of these factors lops off the weak and thrusts forward the strong.

Warren G. Harding is an American of the finest type. He owes his nomination to nobody except the delegates representing the Republican party. If they had not found him to be the most suitable candidate he would not have been nominated, for the delegates voted as they pleased, or as instructed by the voters. They sought a winner, and when they had sifted out the points of availability of each candidate they selected Harding. It would be interesting to go over the list of factors which obviously combined to bring about this result, but it is sufficient to say that when delegates from all the States agree upon a candidate for President, in circumstances of such entire freedom of choice as prevailed at Chicago yesterday, their nominee is necessarily the strongest one who could be named.

This nomination is doubly creditable to Senator Harding on account of the high character and ability of his rivals. The delegates are not to be criticized for taking ten ballots in view of the number and character of the candidates, to say nothing of other Republicans who might have been placed in the running.

Within this month the Democratic convention will meet. The same merciless process of selecting the fittest will bring from that great gathering a candidate to do battle with Senator Harding. We expect to see the Democratic party nominate an American who can be applauded as the peer of any of his fellows, and especially adapted to serve with distinction if elected.

Gov. Coolidge, Senator Harding's running mate, is well suited for the dignified and potentially fateful post to which he has been nominated.



Turning to the future, it may be safely predicted that the Democratic convention will try to shape its plans to meet the situation created by the Republicans. The San Francisco convention may not go so far as to nominate Gov. Cox merely to make sure that Harding shall not carry Ohio without a finish fight, but the Democrats will not entirely ignore the Ohio factor. Without Ohio Mr. Wilson would not have been reelected.

Senator Harding's qualifications must sway the Democrats in selecting their standard-bearer. They will seek to magnify any weak points they can find in him, and to avoid nominating any candidate with similar points.

But when all this has been done, the struggle will revolve around the single issue arising from President Wilson's peace plan. The Republican party totally rejects that plan, and Senator Harding has been most emphatic in his opposition. The Democratic party must either support the Wilson plan or repudiate it, and it must make this choice forthwith. Since repudiation of the plan means repudiation of the party's record as administrator of the government, it must be concluded that the Democrats at San Francisco will refuse to take that suicidal course. They may do their best to avoid entire commitment to the Wilson plan, as a matter of political expediency, but they will not repudiate it. They must, therefore, find a candidate who will suit the platform, just as the Republicans have just done. But the Democrats have a much more difficult task than that which confronted the Republicans, hard as it was to reconcile the two wings at Chicago. The Democrats suffer under the disadvantage of responsibility for an administration whose plan for the solution of a supreme problem is repugnant to a large section of the party and the people.

The new Republican leader has his work in the future, where criticism does not touch it. The present Democratic leader has his work in the past, subject to bitter criticism. The Republican leader is not responsible for the Republican party's record, for he was not leader when it was made. The Democratic leader is responsible for his party's record. The Republican leader is the fresh choice of his party. The Democratic leader was chosen four years ago, when conditions were entirely different. Thus the problem confronting the Democratic delegates at San Francisco is more difficult than that which has faced the Republicans at Chicago.



*Friday, June 25, 1920*

## Lloyd George and Lenine

THE European situation changes almost hourly, but its changes are closely related and may be followed without much difficulty. The latest development brings out more clearly than ever before the two master figures of David Lloyd George and Nikolai Lenine. The struggle is between these two men. "The prize is India—there she lies, a pearl."

The director of the British empire is gifted with a keen vision, an intuitive knowledge of human nature, a supple but determined will, and a contempt for mere consistency that reaches the heights of genius. He has no regard for the past if it interferes with the present, and none for the present if it interferes with the future. His own qualities and several remarkable events have enabled him to become the strongest factor in European politics and the virtual general manager of the powers that were aligned against Germany and her allies. France, in some measure, finds herself constrained to yield to Lloyd George in matters of great importance. Italy is almost without a will of her own when Lloyd George speaks. Greece, now coming to the front, is acting in accordance with Mr. Lloyd George's plans, as he has just advised the house of commons. Poland has been supplied with British munitions in the imperialistic adventure in Russia, in pursuance of plans approved by the British prime minister. All the other allied governments look to the British government for leadership, and the British government in such matters is Mr. Lloyd George.

Opposed to the British premier in a gigantic struggle, which may prove to be the turning point of modern civilization, is Nikolai Lenine, the subtle and mysterious Oriental, who has gathered into his hands the reins of power reaching from the Pacific to the Baltic and Black seas, and from the Arctic nearly to the Persian Gulf. There are more millions of men under Lenine's influence than there are under the influence of Lloyd George. Lenine's influence, in fact, is so intangible and so permeating that it filters into Great Britain itself, and like an invisible hand withers the resolution that would lift the sword to strike down Irish revolvers and nationalist pro-bolshevik strikers. Throughout the British possessions in Asia and Africa the destructive effects of Lenine's warfare are becoming more prominent every day.

The ramifications of the struggle between Lloyd George and Lenine are very numerous. Some of them do not show on their face how intimately they are connected with the main struggle. It is only when the reader keeps in mind the principal objective of each side that he can assign to its place each phase of the world war as it is now developing. Men say there is peace, and they hold aloft a piece of paper called the Versailles treaty, containing a compact which says—on paper—that war shall be no more. In the meantime there is war, and has been war since July, 1914. History will record that the war, which began in 1914, continued in changing forms into and throughout 1920. The future will fill the page. This is not the first time when men have cried "Peace! Peace!" when there was no peace.

Greece has begun an offensive against Mustapha Kemal Pasha, in the country to the northeast of Smyrna. It is a Greek operation at present, but is expected to develop into an Anglo-Greek offensive, and perhaps an Anglo-Greek-Franco-Italian operation. The first objective is the defeat of the Turkish nationalists, but immediately behind them stands Lenine, who is the real enemy. Unless the Turks can be beaten before they have received from the bolshevik dictator that kind of help which seems to be more potent than machine guns and airplanes, the British empire will be forced to defend itself in very disadvantageous circumstances. It is on the defensive in Persia, Afghanistan, Syria, Arabia and Egypt, while a stealthy infiltration of bolshevism into India is carrying the unmistakable warning that a struggle is at hand.

Lenine has accomplished feats which constitute a reshaping of the history of the world, and at this moment he is ascending toward still more prodigious heights of accomplishment. The exploits of Ghenghis Khan, who may easily be Lenine's lineal ancestor, sink into insignificance compared with the achievement of Lenine in gaining despotic control over a modern nation of 180,000,000 inhabitants, from which he is exercising a power that has a tendency to disintegrate every government in the world. He has shattered British power in Persia, paralyzed British influence in Afghanistan as a preliminary to disrupting India, stirred up revolt throughout all Islam, and is actually the inspirer of present wars in Turkey, Persia, Caucasus, Turkestan, Egypt, Bokhara and Siberia. They are all part of the great war, now becoming a struggle between the Orient and the Occident, and between civilization and anarchy.

*Wednesday, July 7, 1920*

### Mr. Cox for President

**S**UPERIOR generalship, concentration of elements opposed to the present régime and recognition of Republican strategy appear to have been the controlling factors which brought about the nomination of Mr. Cox. It was a strenuous battle, which ended in the defeat of the Federal officeholding organization. What the managers of this organization lacked in ability they nearly made up in other resources, so that the struggle was fairly even during more than 40 ballots. The experienced generalship of the old guard leaders, however, was too much for the Federal organization. Several costly mistakes were made by the supporters of Mr. McAdoo, and his heavy vote, in spite of these mistakes, was proof of his popularity. Mr. Palmer's cause was well managed, and his supporters made the pluckiest fight of all.

The selection of Mr. Cox was one of the obvious suggestions resulting from the nomination of Mr. Harding. Ohio is a battleground always, but since Mr. Wilson carried it so overwhelmingly in 1916 the Republicans attached special importance to the State, and the desire to win Ohio was one of the reasons why Mr. Harding was nominated. Now, if the Republicans were so anxious to take over Ohio, it was desirable from a Democratic standpoint to make their plans come to naught. Nothing is sure in politics, but it seemed reasonable to insist that if a son of Ohio was deemed strongest by the Republicans another son of Ohio should be his strongest rival.

This consideration was undoubtedly a valuable asset of the Cox organization at San Francisco. Stronger than that, however, was the combination of anti-Wilson leaders, who centered upon Cox as the most available candidate for their plans. Their first purpose was to break the hold of the Wilson régime and regain control of the Democratic national organization. They could not gain anything without supporting a candidate who was strong in himself and who, if nominated, would stand a good chance of winning the Presidency. They had to find an independent man, of course, for a mere satellite of President Wilson could not be depended upon to assert leadership, even if nominated leader. They preferred also a candidate who was known to have liberal views on the prohibition question. Gov. Cox answered all these requirements. The strong leaders, like Murphy, Taggart, Nugent, Marsh and Brennan, accordingly stood by him



through thick and thin. By their skilled generalship and powerful influence among the leaders of various State delegations they rendered important aid to Judge Moore, the field marshal of the Cox forces.

The feeling against the administration manifested itself at San Francisco, despite the general desire to present a united front. The Cox managers shrewdly utilized this feeling, intensified it and directed its energy to the strengthening of the Cox candidacy. They also laid stress upon the character of the Republican campaign plans and sought to prove that the nomination of Cox would offset the drift toward the Republicans in Ohio and adjacent States. The strong "wet" sentiment in the convention found sympathy and encouragement among the Cox managers. Thus a variety of elements favored Cox.

The Democratic nominee is an attractive, alert, courageous American, of good, sturdy ancestry, clean-blooded and clean-handed. His record of achievement is already long, although he is a growing man and has not yet reached the height of his powers. He makes friends quickly and holds them long. His working knowledge of government is thorough and practical. His theory of government is weighted with common sense. His pursuit of ideals does not volatilize his spirit and cause him to follow strange visions in the upper ether, to the utter disregard of his relations with other men.

Mr. Cox is bound to the Democratic platform, and the platform was not drawn up by him. Its most important plank comes from President Wilson, who, up to yesterday, was leader of the Democratic party and dictator of its policies. Mr. Cox is now the leader, subject only to such inheritances as are morally binding upon him. President Wilson did not try to name the candidate, but he took good care that the candidate should have a ready-made platform committing him to the league of nations. In the fierce campaign that is now approaching, Mr. Cox will have full opportunity to champion the Wilson league and make clear his intention, if elected, to push the treaty through the Senate exactly as desired by President Wilson.

The campaign will hinge more or less upon that one question. The Democrats who so strongly supported the league and fastened it in the platform will demand from Mr. Cox an early and unequivocal declaration of his position. Other Democrats, who fear the election may be lost if the Wilson league be too much emphasized, will be content if Gov. Cox will subordinate the league question. From the opposition will come onslaughts on the league, which Gov. Cox will be called upon to meet.

*Friday, July 16, 1920*

### Right Remains Armed

THE Germans have employed the bolshevik specter to good purpose at Spa, so far as newspaper propaganda is concerned. They did not succeed quite so well in creating a panic among the allied premiers.

Some of the excited correspondents at Spa conjured up the vision of an overwhelming flood of reds sweeping over Poland, Germany and the remainder of Europe. Trotzky was pictured at their head, a gigantic composite of Genghis Khan, Napoleon and Danton, dominating Europe and transfixing one nation after another, until civilization itself should fall, "in one red burial blent." The only recourse was to buy off the reds, and incidentally the most urgent duty was to avoid an impasse with Germany, which might, if driven to despair, open its arms to the reds.

A blood-curdling prospect, indeed, and a most disagreeable alternative. The alternative, however, is a little shopworn. The Germans have threatened to throw bolshevik fits just a little too often. They rehearsed a few spasms immediately after the armistice, and succeeded in frightening the Paris peace doctors. A few convulsions were volunteered later, culminating in the well-simulated cataleptic fit in the Ruhr basin. Gradually, however, the allied governments have become calloused to German bolshevism, and are now quite expert in detecting when a spasm is counterfeit and when it is genuine. The Germans are experts in dyes, but their red is not a fast color. It becomes pink under too frequent use, and quickly fades into a sickly gray when confronted with Dr. Foch and his celebrated prescription.

The bolshevik army, so called, is abundantly able to defeat the Poles. It could not do so if it were really a bolshevik army, composed solely of communists and supported solely by communists in Russia. The truth is that the army coming out of Russia is a national force, defending Russian soil, and throwing out of Russia an army of invasion. Whether the bolshevism in the Russian army is sufficiently potent to transform it into an aggressive force bent upon conquest remains to be seen; but the probabilities are overwhelmingly against such an assumption.

Assuming, however, that the Russian force is red to the core, and dominated by the fanatic Trotzky, there is no occasion for worrying



over the fate of Europe. The days of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane are past. Mere numbers mean weakness unless equipped with modern arms. Russia has a small supply of guns, tanks, airplanes, &c., which were wrested from Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenitch. These worthies received the material mostly from Great Britain and France. But all the material in Russia would not suffice for a day of such battles as were fought in 1918. Russia has neither the skill nor the raw material with which to fashion war equipment in competition with any one of the great allies. The notion that an innumerable modern army is to emerge from Russia and overwhelm armed Europe is a fantastic dream. The allied premiers know this, and so do the slippery Germans who are haggling at Spa in an effort to evade the pledges given by Germany. Hence the appearance of preposterous forecasts of a red deluge, at the same time that both Germany and the Russian soviet find it expedient to come to terms with the allied powers.

As President Wilson wisely said at Paris, the ultimate assurance of peace and justice in this world is force in the hands of the powers that have proved themselves desirous of peace and justice. He told the Roumanians that they must recognize the right of the great powers to have their will against small nations whenever, in the judgment of the strong powers, such interference was necessary to preserve peace and maintain justice. The great powers had the responsibility for preserving peace, he said, because they alone had the force which could preserve it.

The great allied powers still hold the keys of peace. So long as they do not imitate the early delusions of the bolsheviki by throwing away their guns and embracing enemies as brothers, free governments will be safe. Wars will come, because injustice cannot be eliminated from human affairs, and also because some nations expand and burst their boundaries; but free government will prevail. It has been tested from within, by the American civil war, and from without, in the world war, and it is triumphant against any force that can assail it. But it is not triumphant merely because it is right; it is triumphant because it is both armed and right.

Wrong went forth armed, and it nearly conquered. The free spirit of mankind rallied under the allied flags and won the fight. Peace should have been made then on the prostrate body of wrong. Instead, a paper scheme was adopted, providing for the throwing away of the arms which had saved the world. But the scheme has not been consummated. The great free nations are still armed and determined to survive.



*Thursday, July 22, 1920*

### Col. House Speaks

ENGLAND and Japan believe in the league of nations, but they keep their powder dry. They have just renewed their treaty of alliance, which flies in the face of the covenant of the league. It is an agreement which in its nature is repugnant to the vision of universal confidence, mutuality of unselfishness and voluntary disarmament. The smug manner in which Great Britain and Japan proceed with their defensive-offensive armed alliance while at the same time breathing devotion to the Wilson league is cited by no less an authority than Col. Edward M. House, who is breaking his habitual silence long enough to let the world surmise that he is not "absolutely at one" any longer with his illustrious friend, the President. Col. House has issued a statement in London which says, among other things:

*from* "The only unfavorable impressions concerning the functioning of the league are laid at the door of the allied powers, the most recent instance being the renewal for one year of the Anglo-Japanese treaty. While both governments at interest admit that the present treaty is not entirely consistent with the spirit of the covenant, which both governments earnestly desire to respect, they say they accordingly have the honor jointly to inform the league that they recognize the principle that if said agreement be continued after July 21, 1921, it must be in a form which is not inconsistent with that covenant."

The desire of England and Japan to respect the league, in short, is secondary to their desire to maintain a military alliance. They cannot dodge the fact that the league and the alliance are incompatible. Hence they solve the problem by this neat bit of diplomatic jugglery: They recognize the "principle" of the league, but they continue the practice of armed alliance. Is not a principle one thing and a practice another? If two nations are not quite ready to square their practices with their principles, is it not sufficient to declare for the principle and then continue the old practice? After all, say England and Japan, principle is one thing and practice another. This is a practical world, trying to adapt itself to ideal principles. The ideal must always precede the real. We strive to improve. We are feeble mortals. We love ideal principles, but until they are realized we must not abandon actual practices.

Is not that a highly satisfactory explanation to those Americans who scoff at the league of nations?

Possibly England and Japan are expecting a decision in the United States by July, 1921. They are not in a hurry. By renewing their armed alliance they are enabled to sit back and permit the United States to decide whether to join the league or not. If the United States should throw its overshadowing power into the scale and commit its fortunes to the league, then Great Britain and Japan can safely abandon their armed alliance, since they will have drawn the United States into a diplomatic mechanism which can be manipulated always to the advantage of the great powers. If the United States at the forthcoming elections should refuse to join the league and President Wilson should go out of office without having forced the league through the Senate, the Anglo-Japanese treaty will still be in effect, and the two powers can easily notify the league that they have decided to remain in armed alliance in view of the refusal of the United States to become a partner in European-Asiatic politics. They will continue to deal in actualities, in other words.

Col. House has done the state some service by giving out this bit of information. What other information have you, Col. House, which would be helpful to Americans in preparing for their great and solemn referendum? Would it not be well for you to write in considerable detail regarding your conferences with other world statesmen during 1917, 1918 and 1919? The voters of the United States have never been accurately or fully advised concerning the commitments made in their name or in their behalf. They are confused by the President's statement that they incurred an obligation to join the league of nations as shaped at Paris, without the right to make any changes in the contract which would safeguard American independence, rights or interests. They do not know exactly how this obligation was incurred, or by whom. Did you incur it, Col. House? If so, you would confer a great favor upon your countrymen by giving them information regarding the time, place and extent of the transaction; the nature of your instructions; the reasons for assuming such unprecedented authority without consulting your principals; the character of the concessions obtained from foreign nations in return for this American concession, etc. Did Great Britain and Japan make any confidential agreement with you or with any other representative of the United States? If so, what was the agreement?

Now that you have gained your voice, Col. House, please speak freely!

*Friday, July 23, 1920*

## Senator Harding's Speech

ON ACCOUNT of the unprecedented conditions through which Americans hope to work their way to tranquillity and prosperity, the speech of Senator Harding, accepting the Republican nomination for the Presidency, has been awaited with eagerness and natural concern.

What manner of man is he who may be the next President of the United States? How does he think? What are his strong points, and what are his weak ones? Is he possessed of the moral courage to say Yes or No when occasion demands finality? Does he have the faculty of coöperating with others, without which the most brilliant leadership ends in melancholy wreckage? Is he a man who assimilates his patience with time, and his sympathy with a continent of States, so that he moves forward not erratically, but surely, as a nation ought to move? Is his heart warmed with American blood? Is his method of action prudent, moderate, unwavering, and based upon careful thought?

These and many other unspoken questions are answered by Senator Harding in his address of acceptance. It is not only what he says, but the manner in which he says it that makes up the revelation of himself which the people have awaited.

The Republican leader has a great advantage because of the issue that is presented. He is compelled to defend Americanism. Who would not be delighted to do that? He is required to declare himself against the wiles of foreign influence and the dangers of foreign entanglements. Who is the clear-headed American who does not respond to such a declaration? He must oppose the Wilson league of nations on account of its attempt to contradict and nullify the Constitution. Does he not strike a responsive chord in American hearts? He is forced to advocate a return to the practice of coöperation between the legislative and the executive. Is not such a practice desirable?

Mr. Harding's address is so frank and unhesitating on matters heretofore treated with reserve that the effect of his entire utterance is invigorating and inspiring. He does not pick the league to pieces—he smashes it with a few blows. He does not equivocate about the making of peace—he will make peace as soon as Congress can pass an act for him to sign. This means an extra session of Congress imme-



diately following March 4, if Mr. Harding should be elected, and the enactment of the Knox resolution or its equivalent without further ado. Evidently the way to make peace is to make peace, in Mr. Harding's opinion. The way to secure coöperation among the nations is to secure it, not by entangling them in compromising and fatal meshes, but by the voluntary exercise of sovereign power, each nation co-operating according to the nature of its constitution and acting in response to its own free will.

At the moment when Mr. Harding warns his countrymen against the entanglements that would result from American participation in the league of nations, the word comes that the European powers are disposed to ask the United States to send armed forces to assist in saving Poland. What will Americans think of dispatching their sons on such an errand? Are they ready and willing to make their sons a living, dying and dead wall of flesh to hold back the flood of bolshevism, so that Poland may escape scot free after having tried to steal Russian territory? Is it America's quarrel?

Notwithstanding Poland's fatal mistake in invading Russia, the nations in the league of nations are pledged to defend her as soon as the bolsheviki threaten her integrity. Article X is about to come into action. If the United States had ratified the treaty, Americans at this moment would be face to face with war in Poland or an infamous betrayal of their own honor. They would not hesitate. They would remobilize and send their boys to fight.

Mr. Harding discusses the industrial situation, the need of production, Mexico, suffrage, law enforcement, the restoration of the dollar and the reduction of high prices and many other important problems. But they can wait, and they will wait until the one supreme issue has been settled. The question whether the United States shall be master of itself and of its actions envelopes and includes all other questions. Transfer the direction of American policy from Americans to foreigners and there will be little occasion for discussing Mexico, the high cost of living, the value of the dollar, or any other question, for it will not be settled by Americans in any event.

In vain do Americans speak of other issues. In vain do they try to understand how the league shaped at Paris will direct nations and yet leave them uncontrolled. In vain do advocates of the league argue that America can entangle herself and still be free. The arguments advanced by Mr. Harding are unanswerable in logic, and fateful events in Europe are making them unanswerable in fact.

*Wednesday, July 28, 1920*

### After Six Years

SIX YEARS ago today Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, and thus started the train of events that have changed the lives of all men and nations on this planet. Austria-Hungary was large and Serbia was small. The Teuton plan for creating Mitteleuropa was obstructed by Serbia. The Balkan war was to have made the crushing of Serbia a mere incident, but contrary to all expectations Serbia emerged from that war stronger than ever, while Bulgaria, the traitor nation, was frustrated in the attempt to betray neighboring nations to the Teutons and the Turks. Nothing had gone in the Balkans as the Hohenzollern-Hapsburg conspirators had planned. The route from Hamburg to Bagdad was still impeded by the intractable Serbs, who could neither be bribed nor bullied into subserviency to the Teuton imperial scheme.

It was necessary that the Teutons should force their scheme through without further delay. The Kiel canal had been completed and Germany's fleet could thus utilize the North Sea or the Baltic at will. The German and Austrian armies and armaments were never in better condition. Great Britain had been deceived into a slackening of pace in naval construction, which was a point in favor of immediate action. The nations were so grouped and so armed that the advantages lay with the two central powers. All circumstances and contingencies were carefully reviewed by the imperial plotters and their accomplices, and finally, at Potsdam, on July 5, 1914, it was decided that Austria-Hungary should make war on Serbia. The assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand on June 28 afforded a good excuse, whether the murder was arranged for the purpose or whether it was a mere coincidence.

The plan of the Teutons was to strike swift and shattering blows at any and all antagonists who might appear on Serbia's side. The die having been cast, it did not matter to the Teutons how many nations joined in hostilities. They had estimated the war capabilities of each, and were more than confident that the interior position, thorough organization and quicker execution of plans would give the central powers the victory in a very short time. As the prospect of hostilities hardened into a certainty, the war fever of the Teuton war lords and their advisers developed into a frenzy which could no longer weigh facts or reason consequences. They would have fought



the universe. There is no truth in the assumption that Germany would have abandoned her purpose if she had known that Great Britain was to enter the fight. Long afterward, when Germany was not flushed with fresh strength, a more dangerous power than Great Britain notified Germany to mend her ways, and the notice went for naught. It was ordained that Germany's thirst for blood should bring her down to dust, and that those who drew the sword should perish by the sword. The process is not yet complete, but it has gone far enough to be plain to all men.

Austria-Hungary is no more, but Serbia survives and is greater than before.

The Teuton war lords and their chief men reckoned badly from the first day of the war to the very end. Trained, rigid, courageous and skillful as they were, one plan after another went wrong, as though an unseen hand had reached down from the sky and disarranged their legions. Instead of concentrating their strength in the region most accessible to them and most inaccessible to their greater enemies, and thus crushing Serbia within a week or two, the Germans went toward Paris. They created one obstacle after another in front of their own forces, and twice fought to a standstill at the Marne.

Mitteleuropa was a feasible plan except for Serbia. The Teutons could have crushed Serbia in August, 1914. Probably, if they had done so, they could have completed the links in the chain from Hamburg to Bagdad in such fashion as to make Mitteleuropa a self-sustaining reality, capable of defying the entire world. The Germans could have dug in along the French and Russian borders, and neither the Russian nor the allied armies could have blasted their way through. The British fleet could not have taken Constantinople, as facts proved, nor could it have dislodged the German fleet. Strengthened by the close military and economic coöperation of the countries opposing Mitteleuropa, the directing heads in Berlin could have waited for peace overtures from the baffled allies.

July 28 of every year should be celebrated by all civilized nations in honor of Serbia. That nation risked literal extinction rather than surrender its soul. It suffered more than Belgium, but like Belgium its undaunted spirit enabled it to scorn suffering. All the annals of heroic deeds which shed luster upon human nature are dimmed by the record of Serbia in the struggle beginning July 28, 1914.

The victory that was won by allied valor is not effective for peace, for reasons which all men know and which Americans especially deplore.



*Sunday, August 8, 1920*

## Gov. Cox on the Supreme Issue

WITH a certainty that has behind it the force of destiny, the supreme issue thrusts itself into the campaign. Gradually but inexorably the wrappings of politics and false reasoning are falling away from the league of nations project, leaving this naked question: "Shall the United States remain in exclusive control of its own policy, or shall it share that control with foreigners?"

Gov. Cox of Ohio is a most attractive man, a Democrat of ability, and in many respects admirably fitted to administer the office of President. If he could have avoided the fatal proposal that has committed his party to entanglements in European politics and wars, he could have counted upon the united and enthusiastic support of his party, to which would have been added a fair share of the independent vote, attracted by his winning personality. But the Democratic party is split over the league of nations issue, and no ingenuity of language can repair the breach. So long as the administration wing of the party insists upon embroiling the United States in European politics the opposing wing will resist the attempt with all its might, believing conscientiously that it is obeying a duty that rises above party obligations.

Those Democrats and independent admirers of Gov. Cox who had hoped for illumination and leading on the league of nations issue must confess disappointment in reading his speech of acceptance. But they must not criticize Gov. Cox for failing to accomplish the impossible. In order to satisfy the orthodox wing of the Democratic party Gov. Cox would have had to align himself with Thomas Jefferson against Woodrow Wilson. If he had done this he would have been charged with repudiation of the Democratic party's great modern leader, the winner of the war and the founder of the league of nations. That would have precipitated conflict more bitter, if not more determined, than the present conflict in the party.

Gov. Cox does his best to prove that the United States can share control over its own will and yet retain full control. That he fails is not surprising. It is an impossible attempt. But what is somewhat surprising is Gov. Cox's ingenuous effort to convince his hearers that the league covenant cannot violate the Constitution, and his proposal in the next breath of a reservation intended to prevent such violation! Which position taken by Gov. Cox is correct?

Another observation made by Gov. Cox is so naïve in its misconception of history and fact that the attentive student of the league instantly makes allowance for the error, well knowing that Gov. Cox has been extremely busy in administering a great commonwealth. He has done his duty faithfully, and therefore he could not have spared the time to master a subject that requires the most searching and patient study. Gov. Cox says: "The Monroe doctrine is the very essence of Article X of the Versailles covenant." Of course, he would not repeat that statement upon closer analysis either of the Monroe doctrine or of Article X. They are essentially opposed and antagonistic, and cannot exist in full vigor in the same world together.

Thomas Jefferson, the patron saint of the Democratic party, in discussing the treaty-making power, wrote:

"The Constitution thought it wise to restrain the Executive and Senate from entangling and embroiling our affairs with those of Europe."

Mr. Jefferson said of the Monroe doctrine:

"This sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening upon us. Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs."

The reader will pardon these citations, which have been Democratic gospel for a century. This gospel was as truly revered by Gov. Cox as by any other faithful Democrat, up to the hour when the illusory league of nations scheme misled men in high places.

Jefferson, or Wilson? Under which king, Bezonian of Ohio?

On the fundamental question of preserving exclusively American control of American policy, the Democratic party is split. That is a fact of supreme importance to Gov. Cox and all other Democrats. It is useless to discuss what Gov. Cox would do in domestic affairs if elected President, so long as the votes necessary to elect him are grouped in two great opposing armies, locked in a death grapple. If the new leader cannot make peace between those armies it is too much to expect that he will be afforded an opportunity to apply his theories in the making of industrial or world peace.

Tuesday, August 17, 1920

### Three That Stand Together

EUROPEAN conditions at this moment emphasize with special force the warning against any breach among the nations that defeated Germany. The welfare and perhaps the existence of all free nations depends upon their unity. If they quarrel among themselves they will open their gates to both autocracy and anarchy. The very walls of civilization are under assault. Civilization, through its strongest manifestation, that of well-organized homogeneous nations, must beat off these assaults or perish. Every diminution of national feeling is a weakening of the force of civilization. The principal active enemy of civilization at this moment is making his strongest attack, in fact, upon the principle of nationality. He hopes to delude men into the belief that they can make themselves a common brotherhood, eliminating nationalities and ignoring racial differences. The idea deceives many unthinking individuals and does much to demoralize the patriotism that won the war against Germany.

It has been necessary for the United States government to speak without qualification in opposition to the Russian reds and their proposed substitute for nations. The American note is essentially a whole-hearted defense of the nations that were lined up against Germany. But minor differences of opinion inevitably occur in affairs of such magnitude, and the United States has found itself unable to agree with Mr. Lloyd George's policy of treating with the bolsheviki with a view to making a peace treaty. The American opinion coincides with that of the French government. France, however, has gone much further, by recognizing Gen. Wrangel's organization as the *de facto* government of South Russia, a step which Great Britain, in turn, cannot bring itself to approve.

A section of the French press has jumped to the conclusion that since the United States and Great Britain have divergent views on the subject of the reds there is developing a new relationship among the principal powers, in which the United States and France will join forces in opposition to Great Britain. The anti-British elements in the United States entertain the same erroneous opinion. In France the belief also seems to be growing that the United States is on the point of extending powerful military aid to Poland, thus supporting France's policy toward Wrangel and accentuating America's disagreement with Mr. Lloyd George's policy. But the United States will not



send forces to defend Poland. The American people are overwhelmingly against such a venture and Mr. Colby had no such thing in mind when he expressed sympathy with Poland.

It would be well for the United States government immediately to set French public opinion right on these important matters. The greatest misfortune that could overtake the world now would be a falling-out of the British, French and American peoples. With those peoples standing together in open and honest friendship, resolved to tell the truth and face facts, the powers of evil cannot prevail over free nations. But with these peoples suspicious of one another and refusing to coöperate together, all nations would be imperiled.

David Lloyd George is a many-sided man whose activities reach to the ends of the earth. He is the principal figure on the side of those nations that are defending the established order of society—the family, the home, the nation and government by consent of the governed. Against him is opposed an evil genius of misrule, Nikolai Lenine, who seeks to destroy nations. These two men are the leaders of the forces that are grappling for mastery of the world. Men and governments must range themselves on the side of one or the other of these champions. The United States government, speaking for all Americans, has not hesitated in ranging itself alongside David Lloyd George.

It seems to Americans that Mr. Lloyd George makes a mistake in dealing with the bolsheviki with a view to concluding a peace treaty. Mr. Lloyd George thinks he is not making a mistake in this respect. That is an honest difference of opinion, but it does not give any individual or government any excuse for believing that the United States government or the American people are one whit less friendly with the British government and people than they were during the fiery hours when Britons and Americans were mingling their dying blood in France. Britons and Americans stood fighting for France as well as for themselves, and those who fell were martyrs to the common cause of liberty.

There cannot and will not be a dangerous breach between the American, British and French governments or peoples. The living bodies of these peoples, ranged side by side, constitute the last line of defense of all that free men hold dear. Two years ago today this fact was actually demonstrated in the furnace of war. Despite the perplexities and conflicting opinions of this hour, it is a certainty that no earthly power can tear apart the three nations that have kept this world free.

*Friday, September 3, 1920*

### A Question and an Answer

THE following letter from a respected reader of *The Post* deserves answer, not merely because the inquirer is obviously sincere, but because he voices the idea of others who are inclined to support the covenant of the league of nations in the hope that it will prevent wars:

"To the Editor of *The Post*: For the benefit of just a common man will you in your editorial column tomorrow morning, if possible, tell us just what a 'league of nations' would amount to were it devoid of 'Article X,' or its equivalent? How long would a 'weaker' country like Serbia or Poland last if the stronger nations do not agree to respect their territorial boundaries? Using simple English like that of the man in the street who wants information, will you please show why this one fundamental is not the 'heart' of this league or any league that shall be proposed? From a common man, a worker, one who has a struggle to live and one who never wants to see the conditions of the past six years come again."

In order to discuss this subject intelligently it is necessary to distinguish between an imaginary or ideal league of nations and the actual league covenant shaped at Paris. It is hardly worth while to discuss Article X in connection with an imaginary league. The United States is not asked to join in the creation of an imaginary ideal league, but to subscribe to an actual written contract, in which Article X appears. The answer to our correspondent will deal with the actual situation, not one which might be, if a league including all nations could be formed.

The league formed at Paris does not include all nations. It is really "a league of some nations." Germany is not a member. What does our correspondent think Article X is worth in protecting Serbia or Poland against Germany? Some peaceful nations have agreed not to attack the weaker nations, but Germany has not made any such agreement. Even if she had, her agreement would be worthless.

Poland is a weak nation, but Article X is supposed to preserve her territorial integrity and existing political independence. Yet Russia, a nation not belonging to the league, strikes hard at Poland, and the reds are bent not only upon invading Poland, but upon destroying her independence. Thus it is seen in actual fact that Article X is useless in preserving the territory or independence of any small nation

against the attack of a stronger nation that has no regard for Article X or the covenant or anything else. The nations that are pledged to preserve Poland are not keeping their pledge under Article X.

Now, suppose the United States were a member of the league at this moment, with Poland suffering from external aggression and the leagued nations refusing to do their duty under Article X? Would the United States join the others in breaking the pledge, or would it go to the help of Poland, single-handed if necessary? Let our correspondent answer the question according to the impulse of his own heart. He may reply, "The United States will not break its pledge, come what may. But it is well that the United States for that very reason should be very careful in making pledges."

The covenant containing Article X is not acceptable to Americans, in our opinion, for the reasons just given.

Now, leaving the Paris covenant, and taking up the idea of an ideal league of all nations united to prevent war, the question of our correspondent becomes very pertinent. "Tell us," he says, "what a league of nations would amount to were it devoid of Article X or its equivalent?" We answer that a league of all nations, united to prevent war, would necessarily protect small nations as well as strong ones. It would maintain peace, so that Russia could not attack Poland nor Germany attack Belgium without suffering the penalty of universal retaliation. As Russia would belong to such a league, it would not attack Poland, and as Germany would be a member, it would not (perhaps) attack Belgium.

A league of nations such as our correspondent has in mind is utterly different from the league devised at Paris. The two must be kept distinct in the mind if the inquirer is to avoid great error. The ideal league of peace is a splendid vision, ennobling to mankind, and ardently desired by all men who are not robbers or murderers. The actual league is a written contract, utterly worthless for preserving peace, as Poland can testify. One league, the ideal, comprises all nations, and all of them animated with sentiments of peace, fraternity and honor. The actual league comprises only a few nations, and some of them have a queer idea of their duty under Article X.

The question before the United States is not adherence to an ideal, splendid, universal league of peace, but adherence to a written instrument which is now, by actual test, a proved failure, and yet an extremely dangerous complication for an honor-loving nation like the United States.



*Tuesday, September 14, 1920*

## Maine and the Great Issue

THE returns from Maine must bring a deadly chill to that portion of the Democratic party which, in defiance of plain warnings from all parts of the United States, persisted in the attempt to embroil the United States in European politics and to give European nations a voice in the affairs of this hemisphere.

Ten or even five years ago the American people would have regarded as madness any suggestion that the people of this nation should deliberately covenant to throw away their birthright of independent, self-guarding liberty for the sake of joining a general partnership of nations having its central control in Europe. Yet so subtly were the webs of sophistry woven that tens of thousands of earnest Americans have been led by a spurious appeal to their altruism into actual belief that it was their duty to "serve humanity" by yielding the independence of the United States.

It remained for the common people, including the women who now vote for the first time, to call a peremptory halt to this neurotic tendency to barter true independence for an illusion. The vote in Maine will be analyzed today from every angle, with reference not only to changes in the Democratic and Republican votes, but also with reference to the attitude of women voters toward the great issue of Americanism. There is nothing in the returns thus far received which can give comfort to those who would make American independence doubtful. On the contrary, a command comes from Maine directing the public servants of that State to hold fast to American traditions. This action constitutes a message to the sister States, advising them that Maine is not deceived by plausible arguments nor hustled by importunities into yielding one jot or tittle of Americanism. "Go thou and do likewise!" is the message of Maine to all the sisterhood of States.

One of the fatal errors made by the San Francisco convention was its attempt to ignore the fact that at least one-half of the Democratic party was opposed to the league of nations. The convention was in a very awkward position, and perhaps it was too much to expect that it would reject the plan evolved by the great Democrat who led the party and the country through the war. But the logic of the situation required the Democrats to reject the plan. How else could they expect to win votes sufficient to remain in power? With

50 per cent of their number opposing the league, as disclosed by the Senate vote, it was the part of wisdom to stand by this faction, which could thus make a strong appeal to the Republican and women voters on other issues, with a fair hope of success. Gov. Cox is an attractive man, vigorous and able, and if he could have been kept free from entanglement on the issue of the league of nations he could have looked forward with courage to the November decision.

At least one-half of the Democratic party hoped that Gov. Cox would avoid committing himself upon the league. They were partly selfish in this feeling, but they were also loyal from a party point of view. They desired success in the form of a continuance of the Democratic party in power. They knew that the handicap of well-nigh unanimous Republican and formidable Democratic opposition to the league of nations was too great to be overcome by any expenditure of energy or eloquence on the part of the President, Gov. Cox and all the leaders. If the Democrats of the Senate could not be swung over to support the league covenant the Democrats of the nation could not be swung over. The house was divided against itself. The question was, which side shall be selected as most likely to appeal to the independent voters in the nation? The convention having committed itself to the league, although not without throwing an anchor to windward, Gov. Cox cut the anchor cable by going to the White House and committing himself entirely to the Wilsonian covenant. In his speech of acceptance he clinched this position by saying in plain words, "I favor going in."

The predicament of antileague Democrats may be imagined. They love their party. They are in fact the backbone of the old Americanism that fought to a finish every foreign danger to the United States. Jefferson, the father of Democracy, is the authentic political ancestor of those Democrats of today who refuse to listen to any blandishment which would wrest from them their birthright.

What Jefferson and other Democratic founders established, successive illustrious Democrats maintained and buttressed by massive additions. Up to 1918 the Democrats of the United States could justly claim that their party was in itself the living body of Americanism. In that year the rift appeared, and it has widened until the party is hopelessly split upon the fundamental question of adherence to Americanism.

Neither earnestness nor eloquence nor industry can repair this breach. The days rush toward November. The people are waiting to register their will.

*Wednesday, September 22, 1920*

**"The Main Issues"**

**"T**HE cost of living and foreign relations seem to be the main issues," is the conclusion of Franklin K. Lane, in summarizing conditions throughout the United States. This statement is tested truth, but it is a generalization so broad that many persons will fail to understand its deep significance. Let us consider for a moment the three phrases "cost of living," "foreign relations" and "main issues."

The cost of living is necessarily the main issue with every human being who must work to live, and there are few who are not in that category. Therefore the elements that increase the cost of living must have the study of all men responsible for the welfare of others. Perhaps it will be conceded that the high cost of war is the biggest and least acceptable of all items in the cost of living. If this be admitted, then it should be apparent that "foreign relations," covering questions of peace and war, are or should be the primary concern of every man who works for a living. If the United States is to go from one war to another, through mismanagement of foreign relations, the poor man need not waste time trying to skimp, for he will be overwhelmed by the high cost of living just the same.

Mr. Lane's phrase, "foreign relations," is well worth study. In that phrase are the beginning and the end of American prosperity, independence and honor. This nation is said to be "isolated" and inclined to a policy of "aloofness." Nothing could be further from the truth. Not for a single moment, since the Americans burst their bonds and formed a nation, has the United States been isolated or aloof from other nations. It could not be so, any more than an individual can isolate himself from all humanity. But, just as a fortunate individual can conduct himself with independence within bounds which do not infringe the rights of others, so a fortunate nation can conduct itself with independence while respecting the independence of others. The relations of an individual are largely within his own control; so the foreign relations of a nation are within its control. An individual may compromise his prosperity, his independence or his honor by contracting foolish or criminal obligations. So may a nation.

When an individual incurs an obligation that gives rise to a conflict between his own interest and his duty to others, it is universally held to be his moral duty to sacrifice his own interest for the sake of



keeping others unharmed. He is presumed to have studied the consequences when he entered into his contract. Any waivers of his own rights are supposed to have been made with his full knowledge.

When the United States enters into any relations with other nations which give rise to a conflict between its own interests and those of other nations, it is the moral duty of the government to refrain from taking advantage of any situation that would save American interests by doing injustice to other nations. The United States would be presumed to have studied the consequences before it entered into its contract. Any waivers of its rights would be supposed to have been made with its full knowledge.

A proposal is now before the American people which, if accepted, will become a contract between this nation and others, binding upon all American citizens. The contract requires the United States to join in preserving many nations against invasion, without fixing any limitation upon the expenditure of men, money and effort that might be necessary to fulfill the nation's obligation.

Preparedness for war costs money and increases the cost of living; but war itself costs still more. If all nations loved peace and would rather die than fight, there would be no necessity for preparedness; but there is no nation that would not rather fight than die, and some nations do not love peace. Germany prepared to kill her neighbors, and would have killed them but for the United States. No promises, treaties or leagues stopped Germany when she thought she could gain more by war than by peace. If there had been a league of nations in 1914 it would have been attacked by the Germans just as quickly as the entente was attacked. The Germans thought they saw conquest. That was the signal for the war for which they had been long preparing.

Americans do not want war, but they are among the peoples who would rather fight than die. They are not lovers of peace when peace will not conserve their liberties. If their government has been unable to conduct foreign relations in such manner as honorably to avoid war, Americans become reconciled to war immediately, and the cost of living is thrust from their thoughts. They concern themselves with making it costly for the enemy to live.

Thus, after all, the "main issue" is not the cost of living. The main issue is such conduct by Americans, individually and as a nation, as will preserve their interest, their independence, and their honor. If they avoid blunders which compromise these essentials, they can make a better living than any other people under the sun.

*Saturday, October 2, 1920*

### The Concrete Issue

THE announcement that Senator Borah has declined to make speeches scheduled for him by the Republican national committee, because of his feeling that the Republican nominee is not strong enough in opposition to the league of nations, should be taken with a grain of salt. But even if true, it means nothing more than would a similar rumor that Senator Shields or Senator Reed had declined to speak for the Democratic national committee because he did not agree with Gov. Cox on the league issue.

The league of nations issue is one upon which individuals may differ as to detail. Indeed, it is almost impossible to find complete agreement among individuals concerning the details of this issue, because of the variety and complexity of the subject. But what of that? The fate of this issue does not hinge upon individual opinions regarding details. It hangs upon the broad question: "Shall the United States become a party to the written contract framed at Paris?"

Of leagues ideal and leagues hypothetical, of leagues with this advantage and without that blemish there are no end; and there are as many modifications and adaptations as there are individuals to propose them. But the United States is not confronted with the proposition of helping to shape an ideal league. It is confronted with the insistent demand that it shall not exercise its judgment at all, but shall join a league already shaped at Paris, in which the people of the United States had no part or voice. They were not consulted, but were kept in ignorance of the terms of the bargain. Their State legislatures and their national Congress had no idea of what was going on. The press could not obtain any accurate information. The American delegation at Paris refused to give the people any information. Then, when the bargain was formed and signed by the American delegates, the people of the United States were informed that they must accept the arrangement just as it stood, or break the heart of the world. They were told that the United States had pledged its honor to accept the covenant, just as it was written.

Senator Borah is so strongly opposed to the league of nations as framed at Paris that he would rather leave the Republican party than see it accept the covenant. Other Republicans think the covenant can be patched up by reservations. Still others, few in numbers, would



accept the covenant as it stands. Among Democrats there is the same division of opinion. One-half of the Democrats of the Senate voted for reservations. Many Democrats oppose the covenant from A to Z. Others accept it without any reservations.

It is impossible to obtain a verdict from the American people on November 2 which will reflect all these varying opinions. The question has been narrowed down to yes or no on the question of accepting the Paris covenant. A written contract, signed by some of the parties, and awaiting the approval of others, cannot be overhauled and amended to suit the parties who have not yet signed. It must be accepted or rejected. If there is overhauling to be done, all the parties have a right to be consulted. The only practicable method to pursue in case of failure to satisfy all parties is to tear up the contract and write a fresh one. That, in our opinion, is what will be done in this case.

The covenant drawn up at Paris does not take into consideration the peculiar government of the United States. Apparently the covenant was written by foreigners, who know nothing of the United States Constitution. The demand that Americans shall accept it, merely because Americans signed the treaty, is pure effrontery. The people of the United States did not authorize any one to sign the treaty or commit this country to the covenant. The head of the American delegation, President Wilson, was so preoccupied by weighty affairs that he must have overlooked the conflict between the covenant and the Constitution. A close inspection before signing the covenant would have caused him to withhold his signature to a contract which would take from the United States the control of its relations with other nations and compel it to take orders from a foreign council. Such a plan cannot be carried into effect without dealing a deathblow to the Constitution. So long as the Constitution remains effective the President and the Senate cannot barter away the nation's control of its affairs. The ratification of the treaty without reservations would inevitably bring the question before the Supreme Court, and that body would be compelled to choose between the Constitution and the treaty. As the Supreme Court cannot set aside the Constitution and survive, the treaty would have to perish. Thus all the effort would be in vain, even if the treaty should be ratified.

The plans of individuals for or against ideal leagues mean nothing just now. A concrete proposition is before the people. It is the acceptance or rejection of that proposition which they must decide.



*Sunday, October 3, 1920*

## Time to Lift the Burdens

**A**S PRACTICAL lawmakers, charged with the duty of promoting the public welfare, senators and representatives will face urgent tasks upon the reassembling of Congress in December. Whatever the result of the election, the work of Congress will not be lightened, and the obligation of each legislator will remain, whether he be Democrat or Republican. Many of the questions that need adjustment are nonpartisan, or should be, and a willingness to dismiss "politics" in dealing with these questions will be evidence of conscientious desire to promote the people's welfare.

In all matters affecting public and private finances Congress can legislate best by completely forgetting partisanship. It is easy to criminate and recriminate. During the campaign it is perhaps allowable for the outs to blame the ins for heavy taxes, extravagance, lack of foresight, favoritism, and so on. It is equally allowable for the ins to denounce the outs for failing to give full credit for great work performed in prosecuting the war, despite extravagance and loss. But after the election it will be a waste of time to exchange partisan criticism. Each legislator will then be faced with an immediate task affecting all the people. If he is a faithful and able legislator he will change his attitude from partisanship to patriotism, and his viewpoint from sectionalism to nationalism.

The United States is running on an excess of paper money. The vice of inflation is not as serious here as it is in Europe, but there is inflation nevertheless. There must be a settling-down procedure. If the government does not assist this procedure by well-considered laws, the shakedown will come in response to the rude but peremptory laws of economics, and many individuals will suffer loss and bankruptcy. Surely the combined patriotism and wisdom of national legislators are sufficient to devise methods of bringing the national financial system down to a solid basis, without injury to industry or individuals. All sections of the country and all classes of citizens stand ready to coöperate in a readjustment of prices, but they cannot act in concert unless they are given a rallying point and a national plan in which the government is the central figure.

The gold production of the United States should be increased. It may be only one-half as much this year as it was in 1915, unless stimulated. Congress has as much power to stimulate the production of

gold as it has to stimulate the production of cotton or wheat. The production of silver was stimulated during the war, and very properly so. Now, when the gold reserve has a tendency to diminish, it is proper that the government should increase the domestic gold supply, thus relieving the strain and sending into the currents of industry the invigoration of new blood.

Taxes should come down, and they should be revised. It is no longer excusable to continue taxation that acts as a clog on enterprise. The country is not properly taxed. Foreign goods that come into competition with American goods should be so taxed as to give American labor and capital a square deal in the American market. That is a right, not a concession. If an American does not have a right to enjoy the American market, where is that "equal opportunity" which is supposed to underlie American institutions?

A just tax imposed upon foreign importations would help to fill the Treasury and would enable Congress to take off some of the more burdensome and inequitable income taxes.

Another measure that would greatly improve the situation would be the refunding of the public debt, or at least that portion of it represented by liberty bonds. The present generation has fought and won the war, and about 250,000 Americans have been put out of commission physically, while many others have paid excessive taxes, lost their prewar business, suffered great inconvenience and expense by reason of increased rents and cost of living, and pinched themselves buying bonds that promptly depreciated in value.

Is it not mere justice to relieve these people? The cause for which America fought was not the temporary liberty and independence of the United States and the preservation of American rights during 1914-1918. It was a fight for the preservation of American liberty and American rights for all time. Posterity will receive more benefit from the struggles of living and dead Americans of this age than has been conferred upon the present generation. Posterity should inherit some of the burdens as well as the blessings of present-day sacrifice. Posterity cannot pay in blood, as so many of the present families have paid, but it can pay in moderate taxation.

The war debt should be refunded so that its term of payment will stretch over at least 50 years, with a sinking-fund provision that will amortize the debt without undue pressure upon the taxpayers of any single year. The growth of the country will make the tax easier each year, hence the sinking fund should be graduated so as to be lighter at the beginning than at the end.

*Wednesday, October 6, 1920*

## The Meaning of "America First"

MUCH of the intensity of feeling which seeks to express itself in the phrase "America First" may be ascribed to the knowledge that America is in need of Americanization. This nation has a foreign problem within its own borders which it must solve successfully before it will be in a position to spend itself in the uplift of other nations.

The meaning behind the words "America First" is not selfish, as some individuals have tried to make it appear. The citizens who are trying to express their desires in these words are not picturing an America first in wrong, but first in right. They are not advocating an America first in war machinery and first in seeking war. What they advocate is the duty of Americans to attend to America first before attempting to reform the world. They would have America first in the thoughts of all patriots in order that the nation shall not suffer neglect or be enfeebled by distracted counsels. "America First" signifies to them not a swaggering bully among nations, but a nation that first puts its own house in order before it poses as the model for others.

There is a rapidly increasing foreign element in the United States, running now into millions of individuals, all of them in urgent need of assimilation into the body of citizenship. These foreigners are of all grades and conditions, from congenital idiots and anarchists up to accomplished artists and men of affairs. So long as they remain aliens by choice they cannot be regarded as the raw material of Americanism, and they are essentially parasites upon the country. Their interest is elsewhere. They drain wealth from the United States. They are here solely to get, and not to give. They escape civic duties and enjoy all the advantages enjoyed by citizens. Thus they create a discrimination against citizens by absorbing benefits and dodging responsibilities.

Worse than this, however, is the degradation of Americanism through the presence of a large percentage of criminal, ignorant and unassimilable foreigners. Bad associations corrupt good manners. Pure Americans are contaminated by the vices of criminal foreigners. In some parts of the United States the injury to morals is shockingly evident. Aliens of the basest sort are admitted by thousands, as they can easily meet the requirements of the immigration laws. These



elements constitute a poison in the American blood. The country is big and strong and healthy, but it is not made better by the constant injection of poison. The fact that the patient does not die is not proof that he is unaffected. Any one whose memory stretches back to 1914 and 1915 can recall the ugly lineaments of the foreign enemy inside the American borders. It was most disquieting to patriotic Americans to discover that their land was permeated with elements that thought anything but "America First." Disloyalty to the American flag was not merely incidental; it was the rule in some communities, and the aliens and citizens who placed other countries first boasted of their contempt of the United States.

There is nothing of the "Deutschland über alles" spirit in the intention of Americans to keep America first in their affections. Patriotism is not yet a crime, notwithstanding the crimes that are committed in its name. The love of country is still a holy emotion. Without it there can be no valuable contribution to world welfare. The citizen who would throw away his own institutions for the sake of embracing a scheme of world government is of such unstable mind that he would probably throw over one scheme of world government for another still more fantastic, and thus accomplish nothing but disorder and failure. America is not an experiment. The liberty and independence gained by the forefathers have been tested and found to be genuine. They are as actual as the everlasting hills, and should be as immovable. Why throw away tested liberty and tried independence, to experiment with other schemes which contain no checks against the weakness of human nature?

The Constitution is wise in its provisions against excesses. The founders of this republic had no hesitation in espousing the cause of "America First." They knew that liberty and independence were real things, not the stuff of dreams, and they made every effort to make liberty and independence safe against the onslaughts of passion or crime. The founders put metes and bounds upon their own selves, their respective States and the general government. They were jealous of the prize they had gained by the sacrifice of their blood. They would not intrust liberty to any single authority within the nation. They encircled the Presidency especially with checks against all autocratic excesses. They feared the development of monarchistic and imperialistic tendencies. They knew the real attitude of Europe toward the republican movement in the New World. Hence they erected the Monroe doctrine as a fence around the hemisphere for the protection of the principle of government by the governed.

*Friday, October 8, 1920*

## Why the League Is Opposed

THE public mind cannot fail to be enlightened by the clear-cut statements of President Wilson and Senator Harding in outlining their respective views of the league of nations issue. President Wilson has made it clear that it is the particular plan evolved at Paris that is supported by the Democratic party. Now Senator Harding, at Des Moines, declares emphatically that he seeks the rejection of this particular plan. Speaking of Gov. Cox, Senator Harding said:

"He favors going into the Paris league and I favor staying out."

There cannot be any further misunderstanding on this score, and with misunderstanding removed there should also be removed the bad temper that results from misrepresentation, willful or ignorant.

It has taken a long time for some Americans to understand the exact nature of this dispute between the Democratic and Republican parties. Too many voters have assumed that it was merely a difference between tweedledum and tweedledee, between reservations which said something in a certain way and other reservations which said the same thing in another way. But there is no excuse for this haziness of mind. Every voter is morally bound as a patriot to study this question sufficiently to understand it, and no voter who can read English need have any difficulty.

The issue between the two parties has been stripped down to this proposition: Shall or shall not the United States become a party to the specific contract drawn up at Paris?

From the hour this contract or "covenant" was published The Washington Post has opposed it so far as the United States is concerned. The covenant unmistakably pools the international affairs of the whole world and places them in control of a council. Although there are ambiguous words appearing to provide against a clash between the covenant and the Monroe doctrine, the fact that the covenant and the Monroe doctrine would both be construed by the council, and not by the United States, is sufficient cause for rejection of the compact. The United States has never suffered the Monroe doctrine to be construed for it by other nations. The proposal that a foreign council should now have this power of construction, which might give European nations control of the destinies of all nations in this



hemisphere, is intolerable to Americans who really know their rights and liberties.

Another fatal objection to the Paris compact is the provision which pledges the United States to join in preserving the independence and boundaries of other nations. That is a pledge so pregnant with possible wars in all parts of the world that it should never be given. It cannot, in fact, be given without grievous wrong to the coming generations of Americans. The present generation is free to fight for other nations or to avoid being drawn into foreign wars. Is not this present freedom due to the fact that the founders of this republic avoided such traps as the Paris compact? Why should the present generation assume that it knows what will happen throughout the long future of this country? Why assume that the present generation is better able to dispose of future problems than will be the generation that is confronted by them? Wisdom existed before the present generation was born—witness the Constitution—and presumably the coming generations will have their share of wisdom. At any rate they will be entitled to liberty of action. No dead hand of the past should hold them and their country in its stiffened grasp.

Under the Paris covenant France could not have aided the United States to gain freedom and independence. Under that covenant Abraham Lincoln could not have intervened to save Mexico from a Hapsburg imperialism. Under that compact George III could have called upon the powers of the earth to assist him in pursuing George Washington and executing him as a traitor, and those powers would have violated their honor if they had not responded. Under the Paris covenant the United States would have been assailed by the whole world when it began to thrust Spain out of Cuba.

These examples are sufficient to prove how dangerous it is to pledge succeeding generations. Time often makes wisdom foolish, and foolishness sometimes becomes wisdom. No Congress can bind a succeeding Congress, yet it is proposed that the present government shall bind all future governments of the United States.

These are some of the reasons why The Post believes, with Senator Harding, that the Paris compact is not the proper method of obtaining world coöperation for preventing wars. The Paris compact must first be obliterated and canceled. Then a practicable plan of voluntary international coöperation can and doubtless will be formulated, and the United States will gladly coöperate with other free nations for the world's welfare.



*Sunday, October 10, 1920*

### Why American Boys Fought

FOR cool, impudent audacity there is no parallel to the statements of the individuals who assert that American soldiers went to death in this war in order to establish the league of nations as framed at Paris. Some of the advocates of the covenant do not hesitate to assert that the American boys had the covenant before their eyes when they fought and fell. These spellbinders actually ask their hearers to believe that the covenant is the sacred ideal for which the boys willingly gave their lives. From this mendacious starting point, the league supporters easily take the next step in impudence, which is the assertion that the United States will dishonor itself and betray the memory of the slain lads if it does not accept the contract which was drawn up at Paris.

It is difficult to speak moderately of such offensive utterances. They grate so harshly upon the feelings of so many thousands of mothers and fathers, and so utterly distort and outrage the heart feelings of the soldier boys now asleep in the flag, that no politician has a right to use such argument, no matter how hard pressed he may be.

An example of this effort to prove that American soldiers died for the covenant is the following, spoken by a member of the cabinet on the stump:

"Many of their bodies now lie where the walls of the Forts of Folly fell, but their spirits brood over us as we come to the great decision.

"All scales have fallen from their eyes; they see clearly the nature of this contest; they pity our prejudices, our bitterness, our partisanship, as clogs and impediments from which their spirits are freed; their souls call to our souls, they ask us to do on our battlefield what they have done on theirs; they preside over the spirits of simple and plain men everywhere who ask the governors and statesmen of this world to finish the great task, to establish the new order, to save civilization, to give freedom from fear and the possibility of progress to the children of men."

Cunning words, these, well calculated to convince the unwary that the covenant is the be-all and the end-all of man's hopes for a better world. Oppose the covenant, and the soldier boys have died in

vain. Oppose the covenant, and war will break forth again. Oppose the covenant, and civilization will not be saved; there will be no progress among men; humanity will be in the agony of fear, under the shadow of death. The spirits of the dead soldiers, we are told, cry out to Americans to vote for the league of nations covenant.

The covenant of the league of nations is a written contract, as full of jokers and pitfalls as an apartment house lease. It is a bargain, struck in secret at Paris, containing several propositions which President Wilson did not want, and omitting several things which he said must be had if the world was to remain safe or free. It flies in the face of the Constitution of the United States. It leaves in doubt some of the fundamental questions affecting all nations. It raises new doubts where there was no doubt before. It does not settle the differences among nations; it does not disarm nations; it does not prevent them from making secret treaties.

Yet some of the supporters of the covenant ask their hearers to believe that the American soldier boys went to death ardently desiring this particular contract, and are now sending forth cries from their graves calling upon Americans to support the covenant without reservations.

Was it to render doubtful the exclusive American control of the Monroe doctrine that the soldier boys fought? That is what the covenant does.

Was it to make certain that the United States should participate in all foreign wars hereafter, not by its free will, but at the command of foreigners, that the American soldiers fought? That is what is pledged in the covenant.

Was it to carry into effect imperialistic secret treaties that the soldier boys died? That is what the covenant does, and if these secret arrangements had not been approved at Paris there would have been no covenant.

Was it to give Syria to France and Mesopotamia to England that the American boys sacrificed themselves? The covenant confirms these violations of the principle of self-determination and self-government.

How many American soldier boys would fight for the covenant? Let any advocate of the covenant put that question to his audience.

Why not tell the truth, and admit that the American soldier boys fought for the American flag? Was there an American lad at the front who did not keep America first in his heart?

*Saturday, October 23, 1920*

## Americans Will Control America

ONLY ten days remain of the campaign. It is ended now, so far as the will of the people is concerned. There is no further basis for doubt as to the decision to be registered on November 2. Every intelligent man and woman in the United States knows that Senator Warren G. Harding will be elected President of the United States. The probability of his election was very strong from the moment of his nomination, and has developed steadily into a certainty. The people are merely waiting to record the decision they have already made.

It has been a memorable campaign. The candidates have fought energetically and ably. For the most part the campaign has been clean, and every fact that has a bearing upon the character and fitness of the candidates and the nature of the issues has been brought out and examined.

The nation will breathe a sigh of relief when the returns announce the election of Harding and Coolidge. That hour will mark the end of the long and costly period of uncertainty, amounting to paralysis, which temporarily transformed the American ship of state from a glorious vessel on a glorious voyage into a rolling, exhausted hulk, the bewildered victim of vagrant winds and waves. Senator Harding personifies the determination of the American people to shake off the torpor of these days and resume again the exercise of their free and resolute will as a nation.

There is nothing of antagonism toward foreign governments or peoples in this decision. The United States is not shirking any duty when it decides to remain the United States. On the contrary, it is taking the step required to energize its performance of duty toward itself and mankind. It cannot assume the moral leadership of the world if it surrenders control of its policy to foreigners. It must determine for itself just what it will do in its intercourse with other nations. No foreigner can know where America's interest, honor and duty coincide. How can it be argued that Americans should lead the world toward better times, if in the same breath it is insisted that foreigners are better qualified than Americans to direct American policy?

The issue has been well thrashed out. The league of nations as devised by the delegates and their assistants at Paris is a dead thing



so far as the United States is concerned. The repudiation of this war-breeding contrivance by the United States will be its deathblow, notwithstanding the hollow pretense of certain foreign diplomats who would thrive by the setting up of a new mechanism of intrigue.

What of the future? What will the United States do, under President Harding, to aid the world?

It seems probable that President Harding will call attention to the many fractures in the treaty of Versailles, which have compelled the allied nations to acquiesce in what amounts to a recasting of the treaty in vitally important matters. The Versailles treaty of today is not the treaty ratified by the nations. It has been modified by the supreme council in some respects and by Germany in other respects. Let any reader turn to the article which solemnly indicts William Hohenzollern and his subordinate criminals and provides for their trial and punishment. Let him ask whether Germany has turned over all the war equipment as required by the treaty. Let him inquire whether Germany has reduced its army to the figure prescribed. Let him ask whether German ships have been turned over to the allies, or whether they have been burned at their German docks. Let him investigate the reparation and indemnity question, and find out how much money has been paid by Germany to France, according to the terms of the treaty.

Doubtless it will be agreed by the next administration and the Senate that the United States is not morally or otherwise bound to accept the treaty of Versailles. The incoming President will take counsel as to the best means to pursue in giving effect to American ideals of duty and honor. Just now it is impossible to predict with confidence what plan of procedure this government will adopt, but there is no uncertainty in the determination of this country to do its duty while preserving its freedom of will and action.

The prospect of early resumption of the activities of this nation, following the long period of paralysis, will be the most reassuring news that could be sent to Europe.

*Monday, October 25, 1920*

## A Fact and a Fallacy

THROUGHOUT the entire period in which the administration has attempted to fasten the covenant of the league of nations upon the United States it has been urged that European nations are in dire need of the league. The framework of the world cannot be held together except by means of the league, it has been asserted; and now the Democratic candidate adds that the United States will suffer a panic unless it assists European nations to rehabilitate themselves through the league.

Voters are entitled to the facts in this connection. They are also entitled to do a little plain thinking on their own account, in checking up the assertions of individuals who are trying to stampede the people into acceptance of the league. No individual is so highly placed that his mere assertion is either fact or logic. Everything said by any man, high or low, must stand the test of truth and reason or be discarded.

The simple truth is that France does not favor the league and never did favor it. The scheme was forced upon France, and then only after President Wilson had been compelled to stultify the covenant itself by agreeing to a separate military alliance with France. If the covenant will prevent war, why should the United States and Great Britain make separate military alliances with France to keep Germany at bay? There is no reason why the individual voter should not ask that question of Gov. Cox. He cannot answer it.

The reason why France was willing to accept the Lodge reservations is not because she was anxious to see the covenant adopted. It was because France is building up military alliances, open and secret, with nations that can help her in keeping Germany at bay. One of these treaties of alliance was formulated by Premier Clemenceau and President Wilson, and is now pending in the Senate. If that treaty should be ratified, France will feel safe, regardless of the breakdown of the league of nations. In order to get the alliance France is willing to accept the covenant with the Lodge reservations or any other reservations.

Will France agree to "scrap" the treaty of alliance in case the United States accepts the covenant with Article X included? Let that question be propounded to the French government and people, as

a test of the faith which the leading European nation reposes in the covenant as a preventive of war.

The covenant is now urged upon Americans for financial reasons. Gov. Cox appeals to the pocket nerve of New Yorkers by telling them that Europe will break down unless the United States joins the league and becomes a receiver for the insolvent nations. Prosperity will come with the league, he says, but a panic will come without it. He explains this by suggesting that the nations can save money by cutting down their expenditures for armaments under the league plan. This will enable them to trade with the United States and absorb the surplus from this country. Unless this surplus is disposed of, he says, the United States will have a panic.

Thus the disarmament provision of the league covenant is the only thing that stands between the American citizen and the poorhouse, according to the Democratic candidate. It is too bad that he did not sound the alarm before. The people have been listening for several months, but he has been too busy speaking of \$30,000,000 slush funds to speak of the real danger. Now, at the eleventh hour, he announces that the world's welfare hangs upon the disarmament scheme in the covenant.

Anybody who can read is free to analyze the disarmament plan in the covenant. It is said that forty-three nations belong to the league, including Great Britain, the strongest sea power, and France, the strongest land power. Let the voter read the disarmament clause and ask himself whether it can or will bring about the scrapping of a single tugboat by Great Britain or the demobilization of a single regiment of Senegalese by France. Nothing can be done under that provision unless it is done voluntarily by each nation; and each nation has always had the power to disarm itself. So long as it does not wish to disarm itself the league cannot make it throw away a single rifle, and each nation always remains the judge of its military and naval needs.

The answer which league advocates are forced to make to this statement is that all nations are to disarm, unanimously and simultaneously, by concerted agreement! To that baseless vision do these enthusiasts come at last. And they actually ask Americans to swallow this windy stuff of dreams, when Germany is not included among the nations that agree to disarm, and red Russia is attacking all nations! The peace-loving nations, in short, are to strip themselves of arms, but the tigers and assassins among nations are to remain armed.



*Wednesday, October 27, 1920*

## Pitfalls Other Than Wars

THE president of the council of the league of nations, M. Leon Bourgeois, says that Article X is not the heart of the covenant.

It can be eliminated, he says, without modifying the effectiveness of the league. He is surprised that the discussion in the United States should revolve around Article X. "It is nothing more than the moral foundation of the covenant," says M. Bourgeois. "All that is efficacious in the covenant is set forth in other articles indicating penalties and sanctions."

Let us leave to the bewildered Democratic champions of the covenant this statement from France. It is a stunning declaration, coming from the president of the council. Perhaps it can be met by discrediting M. Bourgeois. Why should the word of a Frenchman be taken anyhow, as against the author and finisher of the covenant?

M. Bourgeois thinks there are other articles of the covenant more important than Article X. Is it not wise to look into that suggestion for a moment?

It is true that the campaign discussion has revolved around Article X on the question of involving the United States in foreign wars against its will. But there are other pitfalls in the covenant, of an economic nature which may be as disastrous as war.

At the moment when M. Bourgeois was suggesting that other articles of the covenant were more important than Article X, the former foreign minister of Italy, Signor Tittoni, discussed the economic situation as revealed by him to the league council at its meeting in Brussels. "We must have economic unity or we shall have a third internationale or Russian communism," he said. "All raw materials must be placed at the disposal of the whole world on an equal basis." He also declared in favor of the freest possible trading between nations. Asked whether he meant by this that there should be no protective tariffs, he said: "You must draw your own inference."

Do Americans wish to pool the raw materials of the United States with those of the poorest nations? Do Americans wish to open their market, the richest in the universe, to the cheap labor products of overcrowded nations? If so, let them vote for the league of nations.

M. Bourgeois and Signor Tittoni are not speaking idly. They represent the feeling of their respective countries, which are hungry,

ill-clothed and well-nigh bankrupt. They see the vast United States teeming with raw materials and accumulated wealth, capable of purchasing at prodigal prices all that France and Italy can produce. The temptation to fatten their own countries at the expense of the United States is irresistible. A drowning man will drown his rescuer, and a starving man will become a cannibal.

While Signor Tittoni was foreshadowing free trade as the basic policy of the league of nations, Senator Harding was announcing that as soon as the Republicans returned to power they would inaugurate a "prompt return to the American system of protection for American industry."

These utterances ought to induce the average voter to ponder the economic consequences of joining the league of nations. The voter has been warned that Article X commits the United States to foreign wars against its will, but he has not heard so much about the other provisions which give foreigners control of the economic policy of the United States in its relations with the outside world. It is a complicated subject, but perhaps the average voter will content himself with this fact:

All questions making up the foreign relations of this country—political, economic and financial—will be adjudicated hereafter by foreign authority, and not solely by Americans, if the United States joins the league.

If the league of nations is to exercise power it must gain its power at the expense of the nations. If it is not to exercise power it will be worthless as a preventive of war.

If the United States should join the league, the league will decide whether the world shall have free trade or whether each nation may protect its markets. It will decide whether the national debts shall be canceled or whether the allies shall pay the United States what they borrowed. It will decide whether all raw materials shall be pooled, or whether the natural resources of each country shall belong to the inhabitants thereof.

Inasmuch as Europe will control the league, and inasmuch as Europe is in need of rich markets, is deep in debt and is destitute of raw materials, any American ought to be able to foresee what will happen to his country if it should join the league.

*Sunday, October 31, 1920*

### The People's Reasons

EVERY American voter, whether male or female, is now well posted upon the issues that confront the United States, and has taken the measure of the two candidates. Probably only a very small percentage of the voters have failed to make up their minds by this time. No doubt a large percentage made up their minds long ago.

The election of Senator Harding is a foregone conclusion. The reasons for choosing him are numerous, but in the main they may be stated under two or three heads:

The people want an end of the Wilson régime.

The people are opposed to the Wilson covenant.

The people have noted the campaign methods of Harding and Cox, and prefer Harding.

On domestic questions the Republican program suits the people better than the Democratic program.

The popular resentment against the Wilson régime is too heavy a handicap for Gov. Cox. It would have borne down any Democratic nominee. All the disillusionings following the war, all the grievances nursed by the former soldiers and all the resentment against excessive tax burdens are making a target of the present administration. The idealists blame President Wilson for not achieving a real and lasting peace. The realists blame him for wasting time on impracticable ideals while the country was overtaxed and distracted by unnecessary war laws. The soldiers blame him for failing to clinch their victory over Germany. Many Democrats hold President Wilson responsible for the popular resentment against their party, while Republicans generally blame him for partisanship in asking for the election of a Democratic Congress and in naming Democrats as delegates to the peace conference. All these adverse factors work to discourage the election of a Democrat to succeed Mr. Wilson.

Still more potent, however, is the opposition to the Wilson covenant as an obstacle to Gov. Cox's success. A Democrat might be acceptable as a successor to Wilson if the candidate were wholly disentangled from the influences of the present administration and pledged to terminate all these influences, including the Wilson peace plan. But Gov. Cox is pledged the other way. He is Mr. Wilson's



heir, residuary legatee, assignee and administrator. If elected, he is pledged to carry the Wilson peace plan into effect. Hence, his candidacy means a perpetuation of the Wilson policies to which the people so strenuously object. Those who hold resentment against the present administration might reconcile themselves to a Democratic régime if it meant an end to the present régime on March 4 next, but they are more determined than ever when they reflect that present objectionable conditions will be projected into the future if Gov. Cox should win.

Many persons look upon personalities rather than upon principles in forming their opinions. They emphasize the personal element in political affairs, and believe that strong men will make better administrators than weak ones, no matter what the platforms may be. This type of voter has been scrutinizing the methods and words of Senator Harding and Gov. Cox. From all that can be gathered by country-wide expressions, the preponderance of opinion favors Harding and his methods over Cox and his methods. Harding has not indulged in offensive criticism of his opponent, and has not made charges of unfairness or corruption against the opposing managers. He has kept the debate upon a high plane, befitting a man who will soon be speaking for the United States. His simple and strong utterances have gone to the heart of each subject. His dignity has been natural and usual, as a part of himself. His patience has convinced the people that he will not be erratic or vindictive in wielding power.

Domestic conditions in the United States call for a change of government. The prospect of an influx of cheap-labor foreign goods requires the United States to put up the protective tariff barriers in order to safeguard American labor. If Americans are to receive wages sufficiently high to maintain their present standard of living, they must be protected against the cheap-labor products of Europe and Asia. Either American wages must come down or foreign competition must be offset by a protective tariff. The Wilson administration has fought against a protective tariff and has arranged for a league of nations that will sweep away all protection and pool the resources of all nations. It is for this reason that many workingmen are turning away from the Democratic ticket, despite the efforts of Samuel Gompers to deliver them to Gov. Cox. The workingmen know more than their leaders.

*Wednesday, November 3, 1920*

## The People's Verdict

THE people of the United States have rendered their verdict. By an overwhelming majority the voters have given their mandate that Warren G. Harding shall be President of the United States; that the Wilson covenant of the league of nations shall be canceled, and that the republic shall remain free and independent, both in the disposition of its domestic affairs and in the conduct of its foreign relations.

The decision of the American people takes on aspects of majesty and tragedy. The voice of the people seems to be literally the voice of God as it thunders forth the will of a mighty nation. From Maine to California the massed millions gathered yesterday to register their will. They swept aside minor issues and idle gossip and went straight to the mark. Their purpose was to maintain the ancient place of the United States among the free governments, and to vindicate the right of Americans to control their own government.

The tragedy of yesterday was the effort of mistaken Americans to commit the United States to a course of folly in merging its identity with other nations in a chimerical league of nations. The people never approved of the plan devised at Paris, and the more it was pressed upon them the more they rebelled against it. The disposition of the people is to let bygones be bygones, now that the verdict has been rendered and the account closed. A feeling of commiseration for the stricken President intervenes in the midst of the rejoicing over the election of President Harding. There is nothing but kindly feeling for Mr. Wilson, who believed always that his plan was right.

There was never any doubt as to the decision of the people. The opposition to the Paris covenant was unmistakable. It sprang from the deepest sentiments of Americanism. The instinctive feeling of Americans of all parties has been that the United States is strongest when it is most free; that it will never desert the standard of freedom, but must always be its own judge of the time, place and method of defending liberty. When an effort was made to stampede Americans into a European league they naturally rebelled, and on election day they registered their will that the United States should be and remain free and independent.

President-elect Harding will go into the White House with the good will and stalwart support of the American people. Hundreds



of thousands of Democrats were skeptical of the league of nations. The South generally was opposed to the plan, but for sectional and local reasons it could not vote for Harding. Now, with the sturdy champion of Americanism elevated to the Presidency, the innate Americanism of the South responds to the desire of all other sections.

The regions that were supposed to be debatable in this campaign were not doubtful at all in the returns. The States that were reckoned as doubtful have rolled up tremendous majorities for the Republican ticket. The result takes on the proportions of a landslide.

Fortunately for the country both branches of Congress are safely Republican. This was greatly to be wished, inasmuch as a Republican President would be badly handicapped without a Republican Congress to support him and give effect to his plans.

The nations will have occasion to rejoice in the verdict of the American people. President-elect Harding will soon give evidence of the sympathy and friendship of this country for all the stricken nations lately at war. The United States, in turning its back upon the fantastic league devised at Paris, is not unfriendly to its late allies in the war, but, on the contrary, is moving steadily toward a position where it can benefit them most effectively. It will do this, not by subordinating its will to a foreign tribunal, but by exercising its own free judgment on the problems confronting it, and thereby manifesting to the world the might and majesty of a great free people capable of maintaining their freedom and aiding others to gain it.

President-elect Harding has outlined his program very clearly. Every American who cares to know what is coming is already informed. European nations, if they have not already taken note of Mr. Harding's words, would do well to scan them now, for they assume importance as the announcement of the future President of the United States. Moreover, they are the words not merely of a President, but of a President who is in harmony with Congress, and therefore they become the utterance of the United States itself. It is one of the misfortunes of Europe that it mistook the utterances of a President for the voice of the United States. We believe that this mistake will not occur again.

All hail to the newly elected President of the United States, and to his wife, who will share the White House with him! May the confidence of the American people remain with the new President and support him in all the trying hours to come.







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